THE

HISTORY

OF THE

HELVETIC REPUBLICS.

By FRANCIS HARE NAYLOR, Esq.

VOL. IV.

London:

Printed by J. G. Barnard, Skinner Street;

FOR J. MAWMAN, IN THE POULTRY.

1809.

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HISTORY

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CHAPTER XXV.

Accession of Lewis XII. to the Crown of France—He lays Claim to the Duchy of Milan; invades Italy; enters Milan in triumph; and loses it again by his own Imprudence—Ludovico Sforza betrayed by the Swiss—Accession of Bâle and Shaffhausen to the Helvetic Confederacy—Lewis cedes Bellinzona to the Swiss---Conquers Naples, and then quarrels with Ferdinand about the Division of the Spoil—Death of Alexander VI.---Julius II. raised to the Papal Chair---His ambitious Projects --- League of Cambray --- Lewis quarrels with the Swiss---Matthew Shin-

ner---George de la Flue---Battle of Ravenna---Councils of Pisa, and of Rome---The Swiss invade the Milanese---Holy League---Maximilian Sforza recovers the Ducal Crown---Death of Julius II.

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CHARLES VIII. was succeeded on the throne of France by the duke of Orleans, under the title of Lewis XII., who instantly prepared to assert his claim to the duchy of Milan. Whatever may be our opinion of the impolicy of his conduct in thus rashly engaging in a scene of politics, which had proved so fatal to his predecessor, it is but fair to acknowledge that his pretensions were better founded, than those of princes usually are. The king of France descended in a direct line from Valentina, who was daughter of John Galeazzo Visconti, and married Lewis, duke of Orleans, the only brother of Charles VI. From that union sprang the two branches of Orleans and Angoulême. By the marriage-contract, it was expressly stipulated, that, in case of the failure of male

1498.

male issue, the heirs of Valentina should inherit the ducal crown.* CHAP. XXV.

John Galeazzo left two sons,† both of whom died without legitimate children. In the unsettled state of hereditary succession, which then prevailed throughout Europe, it is not surprising that a variety of claimants should have entered the lists, to dispute so valuable a prize. The emperor, who had long looked forward to an establishment in the north of Italy, pretended that the duchy devolved to him, as an imperial fief. This claim the duke of Savoy, and the Venetians, prepared to contest, without deigning to allege any reasons, but those of political convenience. Encouraged by the facility, with which he had acquired the Sicilian throne, Alphonso king of Naples produced a testament, by which Philip Visconti appointed him his heir.‡

In vain the son of Valentina asserted his right against competitors so powerful.

* Gaillard, Histoire de François, I. 2.

† Guicciardini, IV. ‡ Id. ib.

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Convinced that the contest must be ultimately referred to the sword, he accepted the principality of Asti, by way of indemnity, though he still treasured up his legitimate title, in hopes that some future change of fortune might enable him to revive it with a better prospect of success.

With the rise and progress of the house of Sforza the reader is already acquainted.* Nothing therefore remains to be added, but that the intimate union, which subsisted between France and Milan during the two preceding reigns, prevented the duke of Orleans from taking any effectual steps to enforce his dormant claim.†

No sooner had Lewis ascended the Gallic throne, than he prepared with activity for the conquest of Lombardy, and for that purpose endeavoured by negociations and promises to establish a good understanding with all the neighbouring princes. His next object was to secure the co-operation of the Venetians and Florentines, who were the inveterate enemies

* Vol. III. xix. † Gaillard, I. 6 and 7.

of

of Sforza. In order to give stability to the fluctuating politics of the former, he engaged to cede to them a considerable portion of the conquered territory;* while upon the latter he profusely lavished all those flattering assurances, which gain the hearts of the credulous at little expense. Being equally desirous to procure the assistance of the Swiss, he lost not a moment in confirming the treaty, which subsisted between them and France; and not only augmented the existing subsidies, but with a venal policy, common to princes in the hour of danger, added considerably to the privileges which they already enjoyed.† CHAP. XXV.

Although the sagacity of Ludovico Sforza is greatly extolled by the Italian historians, who consider cunning as the criterion of wisdom, yet in the perilous situation to which he was now reduced, he discovered no symptoms of a great or enlightened mind, confiding in it's own re-

* Guicciardini, ib. Gaillard, I. 109.

† May, V. iv.

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sources, and rising with the distresses by which it is surrounded. Though fully aware of the gathering storm, he was neither prepared to resist it's fury, nor had even fixed upon any place to which he could fly for shelter; but appears to have relied for security upon the intervention of the emperor, who had lately married his daughter. But he soon experienced the folly of depending on that inconstant prince, who in spite of all his promises had just concluded a truce so advantageous with Lewis, that the despicable Italian fruitlessly appealed to his humanity for support.*

1500. The success of the French, in the North of Italy, surpassed their most sanguine expectations. In the space of fifteen days, the whole duchy submitted to their victorious arms. Invested with the ducal robes, and accompanied by a splendid retinue, Lewis made his triumphal entry into Milan. Thoroughly acquainted with

* Lewis ceded to Maximilian the province of Artois, as the price of neutrality. Guicciardini, ib.

the

the interested character of his new subjects, he endeavoured to captivate their fickle minds by a profusion of favours. Many additional privileges were accordingly granted them, and many unpopular taxes repealed, which the necessities of Ludovico had compelled him to impose.*

Thus far did prudence sanction the measures of the French sovereign; and had they been uniformly guided by the same spirit of conciliation, it is probable that his authority might have been established on a permanent basis. But in the appointment of a governor to the conquered provinces, he seems entirely to have forgotten, that the moderation of a monarch is of little avail, unless seconded by that of his ministers and representatives. Trivulzi was descended from an illustrious family of Milan. Disgusted at the tyranny of Sforza, he had quitted his native country, and retiring to the court of France, had been progressively raised to the highest military dignities.†

* Guicciardini, I. 375. (Ediz. di Friburgo.)

† May, IV. xxxv.

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By confiding the government to one of their own countrymen, Lewis vainly flattered himself that he should secure the affection of the Milanese. But the character of the viceroy was little calculated to conciliate friends. Severe and haughty from military habits, he punished the slighest faults with inflexible rigour, and affected an air of superiority, highly displeasing to Italian pride.*

These, however, were failings for which his many eminent qualities might have atoned, if he had not by his indiscreet partiality toward the Guelphs, offended the great nobility, who were in general most zealously devoted to the Ghibeline faction.†

Nor were the young Frenchmen who accompanied the king more circumspect in their behaviour. Without condescending to inform themselves of the customs, prejudices, or inclinations of a people, whose good opinion was essential to their future success, they conducted themselves

* Guicciardini, ib. Gaillard, I. iii.

† Ib. 399.

as

as if they had been delegated by providence to give lessons of refinement to the world, and to instruct mankind in the art of living. But the licentious manners, which universally prevailed at the court of France, under the fashionable appellation of gallantry, were so little adapted to their new meridian, that they inspired nothing but detestation or disgust.*

Great was the odium which had been excited by the vices of Ludovico, but the insolence of the conquerors was still more intolerable.

Sforza was not inattentive to his real interests. From his asylum in the Tyrol he watched the motions of the French, and saw with delight that they were rapidly undermining their own power. Assembling therefore the national troops,

* Gaillard, 111. If we consult historical documents, we shall find that the prevalence of Gallic habits dates from the reign of Lewis XIV. An age, in which talent almost gave a sanction to folly, and when admiring Europe was proud to imitate the tasteless puerilities of a country that could boast of a Condé for it's hero, and of a Colbert for it's minister of finance.

and

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and having subsidised a numerous body of Swiss, he descended suddenly from the mountains, surprised the enemy at Como, and entered Milan amidst the acclamations* of an inconstant populace.

The example of the capital was immediately followed by the other cities of Lombardy. A general insurrection took place, and the French were expelled from all their conquests, with a degree of celerity scarcely less astonishing, than that with which they had been achieved†.

Lewis was thunder-struck at this unexpected blow, and prepared by redoubled vigour to repair his loss. A formidable army was in consequence collected under the orders of La Tremouille, an officer of high reputation, in which great numbers of Swiss were comprised‡.

Meanwhile Sforza availed himself of his prosperous fortune to pursue the fugitive French, and actually laid siege to Novara,

* Guicciardini, 401. † Guicciardini, IV.

‡ May, IV. xxxvi.

whither

whither part of their broken forces had re- CHAP. XXV.
treated. The garrison speedily capitulated, but the citadel still refused to surrender*.

Although too late to save the city, la Tremouille appeared before Novara, a few days after it was taken. Insensible to the danger that surrounded him, the duke of Milan, from his unbounded confidence in the Swiss troops, seems to have derided the storm.

Their conduct upon this memorable occasion has been considered by many historians, as having left an indelible stain on the Helvetic character. Yet from an attentive investigation of the whole transaction, it appears that much may be alleged in their defence. The honour of his ancestors has been warmly asserted by the judicious pen of May, who has treated the subject with his usual candour and accuracy†.

The distress, to which the duke of Milan was reduced, excited a general sentiment of commiseration throughout the cantons;

* Guicciardini attributes this rapid success almost exclusively to the Swiss, p. 403.

† Ib. IV. xxxvii.

and

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and determined them to send a deputation to the French generals, in order if possible to negociate a truce, and to procure such terms for their unfortunate ally, as he might consistently with honour accept. To this measure they were still farther prompted by political considerations, as little less than forty thousand Swiss were actually serving in the hostile armies, and might eventually be led by the continuation of hostilities to embrue their hands in each other's blood. Their attempt, however, failed, as the decided superiority of the French seemed to promise an easy conquest.

It is pretended, that previously to the investment of Novara, the Helvetic captains proposed to Ludovico to abandon that city, and to retire with his army to an advantageous position on the opposite bank of the Tecino. But his want of decision having rendered a retreat no longer practicable, they positively declared, that no earthly temptation should induce them to draw the sword against their own countrymen.

An order now arrived, from the deputies who attended La Tremouille, commanding the

the Swiss to evacuate Novara; accompanied by an assurance that they should be permitted to retire with all the honours of war. Confusion and terror seized the unfortunate duke. In an agony of despair, he threw himself at the feet of the commanders, conjuring them in the most abject language, to have compassion upon a wretched prince, who, if abandoned by them must be irrecoverably ruined.

Though firm in their resolution to obey the orders of their government, and consequently to avoid a battle, they swore to conduct him to a place of safety, provided he would repose implicit confidence in their integrity. He caught with eagerness at the glimmering hope, and assuming the dress of a common soldier, flattered himself that he should escape without detection. But an intimation of his design having by some means reached the enemy's camp, no sooner had the Helvetic army passed through the gates, than a French officer rode through the ranks, offering a large reward to the person who should discover the duke of Milan.

Seduced

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Seduced by the alluring bait, Thurman, a native of Uri, betrayed the wretched fugitive. Ludovico was instantly seized, in spite of the remonstrances and the opposition of the Swiss; who are said to have carried their resentment so far, that all the influence of the national delegates was scarcely sufficient to appease the storm. The illustrious captive was instantly sent into France, and confined for life in the castle of Loches in Touraine.

Incensed at the treachery of their comrade, the soldiers would instantly have put Thurman to death, had he not been rescued by the French. But on his return to his native country, he was sentenced to perish by the hand of the executioner. And so great was the odium attached to his crime, that his family requested, as a favour from the government, that they might be permitted to change their name*.

The

* Such is the account given by May, who pretends that it is justified by the most authentic records; though Jovius, Guicciardini, and several of the French historians scruple not to accuse the Swiss commanders of premeditated treachery.

The following year is distinguished by the accession of two cantons, which added materially to the strength and security of the Helvetic confederacy. CHAP. XXV. 1501.

From the earliest period of it's foundation, we are acquainted with the destiny of Bâle. We have seen it recover from the flames, under the imperial name of *Augusta Rauracorum*, to be a second time destroyed by the sword of Attila*. Neither are we strangers to the commercial advantages, which it derived from the vicinity of the Rhine; nor to the perpetual contests which arose from the concussion of interests between the encroachments of episcopal ambition and the arrogance of successful traffic.

chery. Jovius, according to May, was actuated by motives of personal resentment, against M. de Salis, whose descendents are in possession of an original letter written by Jovius; in which he complains of the ill treatment, which he had received from M. de S., and threatens to revenge himself by his pen: We hope for the honour of the Swiss, that May is accurate in his statements. IV. xxxviii.

* Bâle was one of the cities destroyed by the Helvetii, preparatory to their invasion of Gaul. I. iv.

Partial

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Partial alliances had, at different periods, taken place with several of the cantons. But the important services rendered by the Basilians, during the Suabian war, gave them a claim to greater favours. The bond of union was, accordingly, promulgated with religious solemnity. In consideration of it's wealth and population, the new canton was allowed to rank as the ninth; Friburg and Soleure having generously yielded to it the right of precedence*.

Shaffhausen dates from a more recent period, The *Kletgau* (for so the surrounding district is called) was according to Stumpf, the habitation of the ancient *Latobrigi*: In process of time, a count of Nellenburg founded the abbey of All Saints, which he endowed with rich and extensive possessions. Toward the middle of the thirteenth century, Shaffhausen is described as a flourishing town; and was raised to the dignity of an imperial city. Having been mortgaged by the emperor Lewis IV. to duke Albert, it remained under the

* May, IV. xl.

Austrian

Austrian dominion for more than a century; till, in consequence of the imprudent contest between Frederic and the emperor Sigismund, it regained it's independence. During that miserable æra of servitude and disgrace, the oppressed inhabitants were repeatedly compelled to take up arms against the Helvetic cantons. Upon throwing off the yoke, however, they instantly formed a league with the federative republics. Having bravely assisted the allies in defending their liberties against the duke of Burgundy, they served them with equal zeal and fidelity, during their arduous contest with the Suabian states. Thus an intimate union had long subsisted, so strongly cemented by inclination and interest, that no additional advantage appeared to accrue from their final incorporation into the Helvetic league, except that of perpetuating the alliance. CHAP. XXV.

Another valuable acquisition now claims our attention, which not only strengthened the southern frontier, but afforded a free communication with Italy. The extreme solicitude manifested by the Swiss, to get 1502.

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possession of the Italian bailiwics is easily accounted for, when we consider their importance in a commercial light*. Many of the principal towns in Switzerland had long carried on a lucrative trade with the wealthy inhabitants of Lombardy. By dint of labour, they had opened a commodious passage over the frozen summits of the St. Gothard, across which merchandize of every description could be easily conveyed. But the industrious traveller was still exposed to pillage, and frequently to death, while he traversed the Alps; as every valley was subject to the sway of some petty tyrant, who sallied from his castle in quest of prey, and retired with his booty to inaccessible fastnesses, whither justice attempted to pursue him in vain†.

* The Italian bailiwics were seven in number; viz. Riviera, Bellinzona, Val-Brenna, Val-Maggia, Locarno, Lugano, and Mendrisio. They were subject to the joint dominion of all the cantons, except Appenzel, which was not then a member of the confederacy; and were governed by magistrates alternately appointed by each canton. Planta's Helvetic Confederacy, II. 79.

† Tscharner.

The

The fertile valley, extending on the banks of the Tecino from Bellinzona to the foot of St. Gothard, was already occupied by the forest-cantons; to whom the king of France had promised to confirm the possession of it by a specific grant, the moment he became master of Milan. It is by no means certain, that Lewis ever seriously intended to fulfil this engagement. He seems only to have been guided by the equivocal plea of political expediency, and to have held out a lure to the Helvetic people, that they might assist him the more zealously in the conquest of Italy.

No sooner was he in possession of the duchy, than he began openly to neglect his Alpine allies. Misled by an ill-founded confidence in his own resources, he believed his power to be established on so firm a basis, that no subsequent changes could endanger it's duration. In the delirium of conquest he sent ambassadors to the Helvetic diet, to demand the restitution of Bellinzona. To justify this extraordinary claim, he pretended that he held the duchy as an imperial fief, and was consequently unable

CHAP. XV. dismember any part, without infringing the fundamental laws of that ancient and venerable constitution*.

With the subtle intricacies of the Germanic code, the Swiss had little acquaintance; but they had long been accustomed to consider possession as the best criterion of property, and knew that it was the duty of every honest man to adhere with fidelity to a promise. Nothing therefore, could equal the astonishment and anger of the forest-cantons, at receiving so strange a proposal. Too sincere to disguise their feelings, and too proud to attempt it, they declared their resolution never to relinquish the right, while life remained to assert it. Assuming the tone of virtuous indignation, to which the ears of courtiers are little accustomed, "Is this," said they to the ambassadors, "a proper return for all our "services? The miserable tract of land, "which you so ungenerously covet, was "promised to us by the *duke of Orleans*, "when he courted our aid, without which

* May, IV. xxxix.

"he

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" he never could have conquered the
" duchy of Milan. Our part of the con-
" tract has been scrupulously fulfilled. We
" seated him on the ducal throne. And
" the Levantine vale now belongs to us,
" by every claim that ought to give stabi-
" lity to power. But if in spite of our re-
" monstrances, the *king of France* still per-
" severes in his iniquitous demand, the
dispute must be ultimately referred to
" the sword. For it has never been the
" custom of the Helvetic people, tamely
" to submit to an injury*."

The congress separated without coming to an accommodation; and as no farther explanations were given by Lewis, a war with France became inevitable. Early in the ensuing spring, the banner of Schweitz was insultingly displayed on the craggy top of the St. Gothard. Although the cause, in which they were engaged, was far from being popular, yet so strict did the Swiss at that time adhere to the terms of their alliance, that in a few days, the army amounted to upward of fourteen thousand

1503.

* May, ib.

CHAP. XXV. men. Descending from the mountains, like an overwhelming torrent, they drove away the French from all their positions, and advanced with rapidity toward Milan.

Persuaded that the want of provision must shortly compel them to retreat, Chaumont, the Gallic commander, threw garrisons into the principal places, and having stationed his forces so as to cover the capital, determined to avoid an engagement *.

To this chieftain every moment was of consequence, as it augmented the distress of the Swiss, and allowed leisure for his master to negociate. Notwithstanding his apparent firmness, Lewis had no inclination for war. He knew that the event might prove destructive; and he trembled for the safety of Milan, where the people paid a reluctant submission to his authority, and waited only for a favourable opportunity of shaking off the yoke.

No sooner therefore was he informed

* Guicciardini, Vol. I. p. 484.

of

of the motions of the enemy, than he sent fresh plenipotentiaries to the Helvetic diet, with positive instructions to conclude a peace, upon any terms, not inconsistent with the honour of his crown*. CHAP. XXV.

The forest-cantons continued inflexible, and the ambassadors finding that nothing would satisfy them except the cession of Bellinzona, were ultimately constrained to yield. This event was so gratifying to the vanity of Switzerland, that the *capitulate* was immediately renewed with the king, upon the same conditions on which it had been originally concluded with the Sforzas †.

This negociation however, notwithstand-

* Guicciardini thus expresses himself, *Tanto erano i Francesi alieni da voler la inimicizia de Suizzeri, che non si vergognavono, non solamente in questo tempo, che avevano guerra co' rè di Spagna, ma eziandio in ogn' altro tempo, comperare l'amicizia di quella nazione, con pageare provisioné annue in publico é in privato, é fare accordi con loro con indegne condizioni, movendoglì, oltré al non confidare della virtù dé fanti propri, il conoscere, ché con disavvantaggio grande si fa la guerra con chi non ha che perdere.* V. 484.

† Mallet, IV. 359.

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ing it's present splendor, was attended with circumstances exciting apprehensions in the breasts of those, who examined the real interests of their country with an impartial eye. With a mingled sentiment of shame and regret, they beheld the increasing passion of their countrymen for foreign service. They trembled for the morals and the prosperity of Switzerland, when it appeared, from authentic documents, that thirty thousand Swiss had already fallen in the Italian wars. But the wound, which was given to Helvetic probity, was still more alarming. That stubborn virtue, which had anciently distinguished the peasantry of the Alps, was no longer to be found. A sudden influx of wealth engendered luxury, with all it's kindred vices; unbounded profusion soon dissipated the ill-acquired treasure, and vicious poverty had again recourse to plunder for it's profligate supplies.

Of this atrocious system, disunion and jealousy were the necessary consequences, as every canton was exclusively devoted to the interests of the prince, from whom it received

received the disgraceful wages of it's venal services. CHAP. XXV.

Awakened at length to a sense of their danger, several of the cantons embraced the patriotic resolution of prohibiting all future levies, on the termination of their present engagements. But it was in vain to promulgate decrees, or to enforce them by the severest penalties. Temptations were held out too strong for avarice to resist. In spite of all the vigilance and vigour of the magistrates, hundreds flocked daily to the Gallic standard. Accredited agents also appeared without disguise in the principal towns, endeavouring to captivate the favour of the populace by the boldest arts of seduction. Retinues, splendid as those of a royal court, impressed the youthful peasant and manufacturer with exaggerated ideas of the wealth and liberality of a master, whose servants were recompensed with such profusion. Every varied delicacy, that gold could purchase, secured the suffrage of voluptuous age. According to Planta, the bishop of Riez entertained a thousand guests, on one day, at

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at Berne. Roquebertin, another minister of France, offered to defray the expenses of every member, who would attend the diet at Baden. Nor did he ever walk along the streets, without throwing money to the mob. To the wives and children of the senators he was equally generous, regulating his presents with all the delicate refinement of a man, who is thoroughly acquainted with the female heart.

The increasing influence of the French awakened the attention of Maximilian, who endeavoured to counteract it by every means in his power. But he was totally destitute of the perseverance calculated to struggle against adversity. Prodigal and inadvertent in the extreme, he squandered money with so little thought, that he was often reduced to the most disgraceful expedients to procure supplies. By this imprudent conduct, which neither princes nor private men can pursue with impunity, he forfeited at once both his dignity and his independence.

In the present instance, while he was amusing himself with fruitless negocia-

tions,

tions, the king of France took advantage of the important moment to extend his dominions in Italy; and by treaty agreed to divide the kingdom of Naples with Ferdinand king of Spain, provided he would assist in the conquest *.

Led on to victory, by the two greatest generals of the age, their armies marched from triumph to triumph. While D'Aubigny at the head of the French took possession of the capital, Gonsalvo di Cordova, emphatically stiled the GREAT COMMANDER, overran the southern provinces. No sooner however were they masters of the kingdom, than they quarrelled about the division of the spoil; and turning their victorious arms against each other, afforded to the vanquished provinces the most delightful spectacle that a subjugated people can enjoy.

Fortune, at first, declared in favour of the French. But, though superior in the field, D'Aubigny in the cabinet was no match for his rival. Gonsalvo had recourse

* Guicciardini, V.

to

CHAP. XXV.

to negociation; and as he was tot a lly unrestrained by the ties of honour, it was no difficult task for him to overreach his opponent, who placed sincerity in the highest class of virtues. By a profusion of promises, which he never meant to observe, the subtle Spaniard induced his opponent to suspend his operations, till reinforcements arrived from Arragon. He then threw aside the mask with a degree of profligacy well worthy of the favourite of Ferdinand. The battle of Cerignola decided the contest*; and the Sicilian crown was permanently annexed to that of Spain.

The infamous Borgia had ceased to offend the christian world by the odious spectacle of his vices†. He died of poison,

* Guicciardini mentions the conduct of the Swiss, upon that memorable day, in terms of warmest applause: *Assaltarano gli Spanuoli con furor grande, combattendo con la medesima ferocia i Swizzeri.* I. 491.

† Guicciardini thus describes the joy of the Romans at his death: *Concorse al corpo morto d'Alessandro, in San Pietro, con incredibile allegrezza tutta Roma, non potendo saziarsi gli occhi di alcuno, ni vedere spento un serpente, che con la sua immoderata ambizione, é pestifera perfidia,*

poison*, which he had himself prepared for the destruction of his enemies, but which by the inadvertence of an attendant, (or, rather, by the just retribution of Providence) was given to himself. Piccolomini, who succeeded, lived only a few days, when the cardinal di Rovere was raised to the vacant chair by the name of Julius II †. CHAP. XXV. 1503.

Endowed with every great and brilliant quality, that can dignify ambition, Julius was entirely destitute of those milder virtues, which are the appropriate ornaments of christianity. Indignant at the inglorious part sustained by his countrymen upon a theatre which had been formerly illuminated by Roman glory, he conceived the bold design of delivering Italy from all foreign dominion. In the prosecution of this arduous project, by his elevation of

perfidia, é con tutti gli esempi di orribile crudeltà, di mostruosa libidine, é di inaudita avarizia, vendendo senza distinzione le cose sacre, é profane, aveva attossicato tutto il mondo, &c. &c. II. 21. What a picture is this of a christian bishop!

* Id. ib. 20. † Id. ib. 31

mind

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mind and his extent of genius, his refined policy and his persevering intrepidity, he asserted for himself a distinguished place among the greatest statesmen, who have ever troubled the repose of mankind*.

But before he ventured to engage in the undertaking, it was necessary to establish his internal government on a more solid foundation; and to this, accordingly, his
1506. first efforts were directed. Having stripped Cæsar Borgia of all his usurpations, he resolved to humble the pride of the Venetians, whose arrogance had justly attracted the hatred of most of the European powers †.

Raised to the highest pinnacle of prosperity by the almost exclusive commerce of the East, that wealthy republic had been induced to assume a tone of presumption, in her intercourse with other nations, which is perhaps more calculated to offend, than the most flagrant acts of injustice.

Maximilian was exasperated against the senate, for having refused his troops a pas-

* Guicciard. *passim.* † Id. vii.

sage

sage through their continental dominions. The assistance afforded to the enemies of France, during the Neapolitan war, had excited the resentment of Lewis. While Fedinand, without alleging any cause of complaint, was not less hostilely disposed toward them, from a wish to possess himself of those parts of their territory which were situated on the coast of Manfredonia. CHAP. XXV.

Aspiring, bold, and insinuating, the pope exerted every faculty of his soul in forming a general coalition of all the great European powers*. Concealing his real intentions with the utmost solicitude, he persuaded those princes, whom he selected as the instruments of his vengeance, that the destruction of Venice was unavoidable; and engaged that the spoil should be divided among them, as a reward for their exertions †. Such was the origin of the *League of Cambray*, so celebrated in the annals of the sixteenth century; a league, which seemed to promise such brilliant

* Id. ib. † Denina Rivoluzione d'Italia, XX. 2.

advantages

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advantages to France, but terminated so unfavourably to her real interests, and which will ever serve as a memorable example of the instability of confederacies associated only by the fragile bonds of interest and of resentment.

The conduct of the Venetian senate, at this important crisis, exhibits a striking picture of constancy and prudence. Instead of attempting to dissipate the storm by the usual arts of negociation, they determined with heroic courage to brave it's fury; and, having collected all their forces under the command of Alviano, met the enemy in the field. With manly pride, they rejected all the offers of Bajazet, whose alliance they considered as not less disgraceful than dangerous to the christian name*. But while they endeavoured to inspire their disheartened subjects with energy and resolution, their most rational hope was derived from a thorough ac-

* This circumstance is mentioned by Millot (Hist. Univers. VII. 141), who gives it on the authority of Fra. Paolo.

quaintance

quaintance with the views and characters of their foes. With their different objects, they knew it was hardly possible that they should long agree. From the very commencement of hostilities, indeed, it had become daily more evident, that no confidence, nor cordiality prevailed among the members of the league *.

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†Maximilian, according to his custom, was as tardy in fulfilling as he had been hasty in contracting his engagements. By his delay in taking the field, he allowed time for the Venetians to fortify their northern frontier, which was most exposed to invasion. Unmindful (after his fashion, too) of the most solemn promises, Ferdinand confined his operations to the Calabrian coast, although he had undertaken to scour the Adriatic with a numerous fleet. But the impetuous valour of the French, and the persevering spirit of the pope, amply compensated for every deficiency. While the former, by one decisive blow, destroyed the armies of the republic at Ghiarradadda;

* Guicciard. VIII. † Denina, ib.

CHAP. XXV. the latter, in spite of all the infirmities of declining age, displayed a vigour of mind, which gave life and animation to every enterprise. Convinced, by the dictates of his own enlightened understanding, that in the existing state of intellectual improvement, no benefit could accrue from the usual weapons of pontifical warfare, unless seconded by measures of a more physical character, he levied troops with unremitting assiduity, and appeared at the head of a formidable army, under the twofold character of a warrior and a prophet. In the course of a single campaign the presumptuous mistress of the Adriatic was stripped of all the provinces which she had progressively acquired by her industry and her intrigues; while comminations and anathemas, by exciting the apprehensions of the populace, gave a semblance of justice to the cause of victory.

At this momentous crisis, when destruction hung over the devoted republic, the prudence of the senate appeared most conspicuously. By concessions ample as the imperious temper of Julius himself could require,

require, they soothed his pride; while they satisfied his cupidity by the spontaneous offer of surrendering all the towns which he claimed as appendages of the Holy See *. The pontiff, already alarmed at the rapid progress of the French, received their submissions with a spirit of placability, which nothing except his extreme jealousy of the Transalpine powers could have inspired †. The same system of conciliatory sacrifice was productive of similar effects on the mind of the Spanish monarch. Thus the Venetians were not only delivered from two formidable opponents, but they even obtained the secret assurance of their future co-operation, whenever prudence should allow them to declare in their favour ‡. Nor was a convenient opportunity long wanting. The Austrians met with an unexpected repulse, and Ferdinand and the pope became the allies of Venice.

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The schemes of Julius were the result of consummate wisdom, and they were now executed with equal ability. Aware that 1510.

* Gucciard. II. 270. † Denina, ib. ‡ Id. ib.

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little confidence could be reposed in the nerveless bands of Italy, he resolved to render the Helvetic people the instruments of his vast designs. Nor could the state of Helvetic politics have been more auspicious for his wishes. The term of their alliance with France being expired, that warlike nation availed itself of the unsettled state of European politics, to demand augmented subsidies and additional pay. But economy was the favourite virtue of Lewis, and like other favourites, frequently led him into unpardonable errors.

Enraged at the request, no less than at the tone in which it was preferred, the king swore, in the first gust of passion, that he would never suffer the Alpine peasants to dictate laws to France*. Nor could he be persuaded to retract this hasty declaration, though his wisest ministers strongly urged the impolicy of offending a people, whose friendship was indispensible to his future success†.

Taking advantage of this misunder-

* Mallet, II. 365. † Guicciard. IX.

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standing, the sagacious pontiff spared neither flattery nor gold, in order to induce the Helvetic government to espouse the cause of the church; while fortune threw an agent in his way, who seemed expressly formed by nature to assist him in the difficult task *. Matthew Schinner was descended from an ancient family in the Vallais, whose contracted circumstances no longer allowed them to support their fugitive dignity. To a considerable portion of scholastic erudition he united great eloquence, an agreeable person, and manners the most captivating. Convinced that in the age and country, in which he lived, more solid virtues were required to give lustre to the ecclesiastical character, he conformed with rigid attention to the discipline of the church, nor was he less decorous in the familiar intercourse of private life. Endowed with a versatility of temper capable of assuming the most opposite forms, he concealed under the mask of devotion a spirit bold and aspiring, as that of the

* Mallet, ib. 368.

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wildest demagogue; and devoted to the pursuits of ambition, he anxiously cultivated the favour of his countrymen, till from the humble situation of a village pastor, he was raised to the episcopal see of Sion.*

Conformity of views and similarity of disposition, gave rise to an intimate friendship between Schinner and the baron of Supersax. Taught by their instinctive feelings, that they were destined to figure on a more conspicuous theatre, they endeavoured by every artifice to acquire an ascendency over the public mind, and had hitherto executed their united influence in seconding the projects of France. Success however at length led the bishop to rate his services at so high a price, that the parsimonious king resolved to decline the purchase†.

The proud spirit of Schinner took fire

* Varillas affirms, that he compelled the chapter to appoint him co-adjutor, during the life of the former bishop, and thus secured to himself the reversion of the see upon his death.

† Id. ib.

at

at this affront. He swore implacable hatred to the Gallic name, and consecrated to revenge every faculty of his soul. With an eloquence, rapid, insinuating, and irresistible, he swayed the public opinion in every debate. Yet with all his powers he failed in the most important part of his attempt. In spite of his tears and his intreaties, the baron of Supersax, persevered in his attachment to France. Hence arose between them a degree of resentment, which overleaping the narrow limits of a private feud, extended it's pernicious influence throughout all Helvetia.

Disappointed in those expectations of greatness, which he had hoped to attain through the patronage of Lewis, the indignant prelate resolved to devote himself to the interests of Rome. Accordingly, at a diet held in Schweitz, he appeared under the character of papal legate, and exerted his oratory with such effect, that the government was induced to conclude an alliance with the pope. By this convention it was stipulated that,

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in consideration of an annual pension of a thousand florins to each canton, Julius should be permitted to raise a body of ten thousand Swiss, to be employed exclusively *in defence of the church.** Transported with the result of this negociation, the pontiff now gave unbounded scope to his aspiring genius; despatched ambassadors to all the courts in Christendom to preach the necessity of a general crusade against the most Christian king. Not confining himself however to simple exhortations, he gave himself a striking example of the activity which he recommended. For while his troops laid waste the duchy of Ferrara, he planned a revolution at Genoa, and brought down hosts of auxiliary Swiss into the fertile plains of Lombardy.

The convention between the Swiss and the court of Rome was no sooner made public, than the French minister in his master's name warmly remonstrated against it. And finding his representations treated with neglect, informed the diet that, in

* May, IV. xliii.

case

case the Helvetic army should enter Italy, the French generals had positive orders to oppose them. Undismayed by this declaration, the Swiss regarded it in the light of a menace, to which honour forbade them to submit*. CHAP. XXV.

Descending by the banks of the Tecino, they advanced without interruption to Bellinzona. Their army however though formidable in point of numbers, was ill equipped, and totally unprovided with magazines, pontoons, or artillery†. Chaumont was acquainted with their distress, and being convinced of their inability to keep the field, prudently resolved to confine himself to defensive operations. Having reinforced the garrison of Como, and carried away or destroyed whatever could contribute to the support of an army, he sent out flying parties to harass the enemy, while he took advantage of the nature of the country to avoid a general engagement.

Regardless of difficulties, the Swiss

* Id. ib. † Guicciard. II. 306.

continued

CHAP. XXV. continued to advance, till they reached Varese, where they halted for some days, in expectation of reinforcements from the Vallais. Upon their arrival, they proceeded forward in order of battle. But perceiving that nothing could induce Chaumont to hazard an engagement, they suddenly turned their backs on Italy.

It does not appear that want of provisions was the only motive, which inspired this extraordinary resolution, though we are assured by Guicciardini, that their distress was extreme*. That able historian seems to have contemplated their situation with the eyes of an Italian, without making due allowance for the diversity of national characters. Difficulties like those, with which the Swiss were surrounded, might have appalled the timid and the effeminate soldiery of Italy. But the Helvetic peasant was bred from his cradle, to a rough and laborious life. Inured to hardships by the nature of the climate, and his professional pursuits, he

* Id. ib.

could

could support privations of the severest description, when gain or glory was in view. But the papal commissaries had been imprudently negligent in providing funds for the payment of the troops, and Julius now experienced to his cost that the vulgar proverb was founded on truth.*

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Thus far, indeed, the conduct of the Swiss is capable of defence. Other accusations, however, are brought against them, for which no palliative can be suggested. It was strongly rumoured, that the magic charm of corruption had operated with greater efficacy, than the dearth of provisions, or the want of pay;† notwithstanding the outcry, which was raised throughout

* *Point d'argent, point de Suisse.*

† This suspicion is, in some measure, strengthened by the injudicious defence of May. From him we learn, "*que l'armeè Swisse reçut a Varese un deputé de Chaumont, qui representa à ses chefs, que l'alliance du roi son maitre avec les cantons concernant le Capitulat de Milan subsistant toujours, il esperait qu'ils ne chercheraient pas à exciter une rupture avec ce monarque, &c.*" He then proceeds to say, "*Que les capitaines Suisses, frappes des obstacles qu'ils auraient à surmonter, s'ils entreprenaient*

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out Switzerland, against the perfidy and ingratitude of the pope.

Julius, whose natural impetuosity was greatly increased by disappointment, retorted by charges equally violent; upbraiding the Swiss with venality, and accusing them with having violated every condition of the compact. The money, he contended, had been withheld by his agents on reasonable grounds. It was intended as the reward of active service; and could not therefore equitably be claimed by men, whose operations had hitherto borne a far greater analogy to the manœuvres of a military muster, than to the labors of a regular campaign. Anxious, at the same time, to give effect to his anger, he

treprenaient le siége de Varese, et qu'ils risquaient d'echouer à cette entreprise, et craignant d'etre punis par leur souverains, s'ils fesaient une guerre ouverte avec la France, prirent la parti d'avoir une conference avec Chaumont." This conference, he adds, was *decisive*. Now as all the reasons made use of by the deputy were known before the expedition was undertaken, it is impossible to believe that they would have produced such extraordinary effects, unless enforced by arguments far more persuasive than any which rhetoric can supply.

directed

directed Schinner to menace the cantons with excommunication, unless they instantly made amends for their misconduct. But the thunders of the vatican were heard with indifference in the vallies of the Alps. The ineffectual threat only served to render both the legate and the pope still more unpopular in Switzerland. CHAP. XXV.

Though the behaviour of the Swiss however was little calculated to increase the number of their friends, it rendered the princes of Europe extremely cautious of becoming their foes. Maximilian therefore considered himself as peculiarly fortunate in concluding an alliance between them and his grandson Charles, upon the usual terms of an annual subsidy.* 1511.

Meanwhile Schinner had been indefatigable in his endeavours to promote a reconciliation between the pope and the Swiss. But finding himself unable to contend against the increasing popularity of Supersax, he determined to undermine the character of a man, whose integrity was

* Two hundred florins to each canton. May, VII. ii.

proof

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proof against every temptation. Having procured a majority in the senate of Berne, by the usual arts of corruption, he caused the baron's name to be effaced from the roll of citizens, with every possible mark of disgrace.

Conscious of the purity of his intentions, Supersax hoped to confound his enemies by a public investigation of his conduct. With this view he set out for Berne, not reflecting, that it would be the object of those, who had plotted his ruin, to prevent a trial, which would lead to nothing but their own confusion. On his way thither, he was arrested at Friburg, and under the pretext of eliciting a confession of his crimes, put to the torture. In this trying situation, he displayed a degree of fortitude which would have done honour to an ancient Roman. But the violence of party prevailed, and he was sentenced to the scaffold. In this juncture a friend was found, who could appreciate his worth, and pity his misfortunes. The noble-minded Arsent, who at that time held one of the highest offices in the republic, was induced

to

to connive at his escape. The generous act, however, proved fatal to himself: as the burghers, enraged at the loss of their victim, condemned him to suffer in the baron's place*.

Supersax lay for some time concealed in the principality of Neûchatel, but being at length discovered by the active malice of his persecutors, he was brought to a public trial. The rage of party having now subsided, the judges listened with impartiality. Not a single charge was substantiated. Supersax, in consequence, recovered his liberty, and was permitted to return to his patrimonial estate†.

In proportion as the baron rose, his opponent sunk in the public esteem; till at length the bishop was banished by the *ostracism of the mace*. This custom, which seems peculiar to the rude inhabitants of the Vallais, had been practised from the earliest period of their history.

When a person of eminence attracted the hatred of the populace, it was custom-

* Mallet, II. 369. † Id ib. 370.

ary

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ary for them to carve the outlines of a human face on a block of wood, and expose it to a counterfeit trial. Whoever had any grounds of complaint against the person proscribed, drove a nail into the log, which was denominated a *mace*. This ceremony continued till the number of nails was deemed sufficient for the condemnation of of the criminal. The misshapen image, after having been carried about in triumph, was placed before the house of the accused, which was instantly demolished. Nor would the owner, had he been rash enough to wait the decision, have experienced a milder fate*.

The bishop was apprised of the design, and being aware that the dignity of a mitre would be an ineffectual protection against the fury of an indignant populace,

* Simleri Valleria. The reader will naturally be struck with the resemblance, which this practice bears to the Athenian ostracism. It is surprising to find, in a rude democracy, amidst the wildest vallies of the Alps, and in a republic, where philosophy and refinement gave their brightest lustre to the human character, that political jealousies should have produced similar effects.

he

he thought it prudent to decamp. Under different disguises he traversed the mountains, and after having undergone a variety of hardsips and dangers, arrivcd in safcty at Romc, where he was instantly rewarded with a cardinal's hat*. CHAP XXV.

Desirous of subduing the haughty spirit of Helvetia by a system of rigor, when he might have carried his point by a contrary plan with much greater facility, Lewis rashly prohibited all commercial intercourse between Switzerland and the duchy of Milan†. This regulation was productive of infinite distress, as some of the cantons depended for their subsistence on the supplies of grain, which were annually drawn from Lombardy. It was not likely that such treatment would be silently endured by a people, who were alive to the smallest injury, and considered the christian virtue of patience as derogatory from the honour of the military profession. It is possible however that an open rupture might still have been avoided,

† Mallet, ib. 371. † Ib. ib. 372.

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had not an event taken place, which wounded their pride in it's most sensible point.

During the negociation with Chaumont, three messengers of state, with despatches to the Helvetic army, were arrested by a party of the enemy's horse. After having been robbed of their papers, and barbarously treated, they were carried to Lugano, were two of them were beheaded; and the third confined in a common prison for several months*.

It does not appear, that the Helvetic diet received intelligence of this atrocious act till the return of the survivor, who at last effected his escape. Ambassadors were instantly sent to the duke of Nemours, who had lately been appointed to the important situation of governor-general of all the French possessions in Italy, with positive instructions to insist upon a reparation not less signal than the offence. But all remonstrances were fruitless. Nemours, incensed against the Swiss, on account of

* May, IV. 44.

their

their alliance with the court of Rome, replied in a tone of arrogance, little calculated to appease their resentment*.

Ten thousand Swiss were instantaneously in arms, and advanced to the gates of Milan, spreading terror and desolation in their march. Unable to face them in the field, Gaston de Foix resolved to imitate the example of Chaumont, and displayed the defensive talents of a Fabius, at an age when the greater part of mankind are scarcely instructed in the use of arms. Prudence, as usual, was crowned with success. After repeatedly attempting to provoke a battle, or to extort a sum of money, under the name of indemnity, the Helvetic army was constrained to return home, equally discontented with their own conduct, and with that of their allies†.

Their retreat left the French at liberty to pursue their projects without interruption. Led on by a hero, the hope and

* Id. ib.

† Guicciardi. II. 426. May, as usual, attempts to justify his countrymen, ib.

CHAP. XXV. pride of his country, they overran the north of Italy in a few weeks. Gaston saved the Milanois, took Brescia, and having compelled the confederates to raise the siege of Bologna, gave them battle under the walls of Ravenna*.

His decisive victory, which was entirely due to the genius of Nemour, overwhelmed the Italians with consternation. But the death of that gallant prince cast a cloud over the brilliant prospect, and left the triumphant army a prey to the cabals and jealousies of envious and discordant chiefs.

Julius, whose persevering character was peculiarly calculated to struggle against adversity, flew with rapidity to the scene of action. Availing himself of the want of intelligence, which prevailed in the Gallic camp, he collected the scattered troops, and renewed the war with a fortitude, which would have done honour to the immortal Roman whose name he bore†.

Success had inspired Lewis with such unbounded confidence, that he determined

* Guicciardi. X. † Guicciardi, ib.

to

to crush the haughty pontiff by a single blow. Having prevailed upon Maximilian to concur in the design, he convened a general council to meet at Pisa, at which all the French and German prelates had positive orders to attend * Julius was cited to appear before them, and in consequence of his refusal, was about to be deposed. Superior himself to the weakness of superstition, he was too well acquainted with the efficacy of those weapons, which his opponents were preparing to employ against him to remain an idle spectator of their proceedings. He accordingly resolved, with pious prudence, to oppose council to council; little doubting that the sanction of his apostolic presence, and the dignity of the place where it was destined to assemble, would obtain a general preference for the Roman synod. A convocation of all orthodox bishops was summoned to meet in the capital of the christian world, whence anathemas and interdicts were thundered forth against the enemies of the catholic church*.

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* Guiccardi. IX. † Id. X.

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To the pontiff's attack Lewis opposed the shield of indifference; but the capricious emperor took fright at the idea of incurring the censures of the Vatican, and recalling the German ecclesiastics, conferred the investiture of the duchy of Milan upon the son of Ludovico Sforza, though he had previously granted it to the king of France*.

Deprived of the support which it had hitherto derived from the dignity of the imperial name, the Pisan synod sunk into contempt, and after wandering from city to city, at length expired at Lyons. Elated with his triumph, Julius now attempted by every artifice to seduce the French to revolt. Finding, however, that neither threats nor promises could undermine the authothority of a sovereign, upon whom gratitude had bestowed the enestimable appellation of 'Father of his country,' he directed his active malice against his friend and ally, the king of Navarre. An invitation to conquer that valuable province

* Id. XI.

was

was too alluring for Ferdinand to resist. Regardless of the dangerous precedent, which he was about to establish, he hastily declared himself the champion of the church, and entering Navarre at the head of a powerful army, annexed it inseparably to the crown of Spain.

Meanwhile secret negociations were carrying on between Lewis and the Swiss. But the pride and parsimony of the former prevented them from taking effect. He had hitherto maintained the strictest amity with the Grison league, and the numerous levies which he drew from that quarter, compensated in part for the Swiss defection. To his extreme mortification however the Grisons declared, that it was impossible for them any longer to serve in his armies, as it was their paramount duty to follow the fortunes of the Helvetic confederacy.*

Exaggerated accounts of the warlike preparations, carrying on throughout every part of Helvetia, produced very opposite effects on the minds of the timid and ca-

* Mallet, p. 377.

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pricious inhabitants of Italy. The friends of Lewis beheld with alarm the towns of Romagna evacuated by the French, who now concentrated themselves in the vicinity of Milan, for the protection of that important city. Julius on the contrary, who had so lately trembled for the safety of Rome, once more appeared in the character of a conqueror, prepared to avenge his private wrongs, under pretence of vindicating the insulted dignity of the church. Such also was the animosity which prevailed in Switzerland* against the Gallic monarch, that instead of six thousand auxiliaries (the number stipulated by the convention) twenty thousand followed the course of the Adige†, and being reinforced

* Guicciardini makes use of the following words: "*Era "tanto ardente l'odio del moltitudine contro il rè di "Francia, che contra la loro consuetudine, tolleravono "patientamente tutte le difficultà*". II. 481.

† This army was commanded by the baron of Hohensax, who had been recently admitted to the coburghership of Zuric. Under him served Stapfer and Heyd, both officers of reputation and experience. Mallet, II. 379.

at

at Verona by a strong column of Venetians, advanced by hasty marches toward Milan. CHAP. XXV.

La Palice, who had succeeded Nemours in the command of the French army, was compelled from inferiority of numbers, and the total want of pecuniary resources, to confine himself to defensive measures. Maximilian, also, had added greatly to his distress by recalling the German auxiliaries*. Nor could the smallest reliance be placed in the legions of Italy, whom fear or interest had hitherto attached to his standard. Availing themselves of the propitious moment, the Genoese were the first to give an example of rebellion; and throwing off the yoke, at the instigation of Fregoso, a Venetian general, declared in favour of the Holy League†.

No sooner were the Swiss in possession of the north of Italy, than they assumed

* Guicciardini, II. 484.

† Ib. 487. A greater prostitution of terms is hardly to be found in the pages of history; unless ambition and interest, hatred and revenge, be qualities which entitle men to the appellation of 'Holy.'

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the lofty language of conquerors, distributing the vanquished provinces among the members of the coalition, without deigning to consult their allies. To the pope they allotted Parma, Placencia, and Bologna. The Valteline and Chiavenna were given to the Rhœtian league: while Lugano, Locarno, and Domo d'Ossola were reserved for themselves, as the remuneration of their own exploits*. The duchy of Milan was ostentatiously left at the disposal of the emperor, who engaged to bestow it upon the undeserving son of Ludovico Sforza; though it soon appeared, from his evasive conduct, that he had a different object in view†.

The Swiss army now received orders to commence hostilities against the allies of France. Dividing themselves into two columns, with one they took possession of Neuchatel, which had lately devolved to the house of Orleans; while the other invaded Thierstein, as a punishment to the count

* May, IV. 48, and 49. Guicciard. II. 486.

† Mallet, IV. 383.

for

for his indiscreet declaration in favour of Lewis*. Delighted with this sudden change of fortune, Julius gave way to the most extravagant joy. No rewards were deemed excessive for his brave auxiliaries. On their arrival at Rome, the Helvetic ambassadors were received with honours not inferior to those, which had till then been reserved for the representatives of kings. Their nation was emphatically distinguished by the envied title of 'Defenders of the Church.' In addition to this pompous name, each canton was presented with a sword of exquisite workmanship, superbly decorated with precious stones, a ducal cap, and a consecrated banner†. CHAP. XXV.

These transports proved, however, of short duration. On publishing the terms of the partition, it became evident that the christian virtues of patience and resignation were utterly excluded from 'the Holy League;' and every member appeared not less dissatisfied with his allotted portion,

* Id. ib. † Guicciard. III. 12.

than

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than if they had contended solely for terrestrial crowns.

Regardless of his solemn promise to grant the investiture of Milan to Maximilian Sforza, the emperor refused to alienate that valuable province, which he now believed himself able to retain, and wished to reserve for his grandson Charles. In this project he was secretly encouraged by Ferdinand king of Spain, and as strenuously resisted by the Venetians*; who not only dreaded the vicinity of so powerful a prince, but were desirous to possess themselves of several towns contiguous to their own territory, which they could not hope to effect, if once they fell under the dominion of Austria. Thus interest combined with inclination to render them favourable to Sforza's elevation. Nor were Julius and the Swiss less zealously his friends; the former in adherence to his system of excluding foreigners from Italy, the latter influenced solely by the haughty spirit of

* Schmidt, Geschichte der Deutschen, X. 118.

inflexible

inflexible perseverance. After various subterfuges, Maximilian was reduced to the humiliating alternative of complying with their wishes, or of vindicating his duplicity with the sword. Too feeble to contend against so formidable a confederacy, he at length consented to confer the investiture upon that weak and effeminate prince*. Proud of this second victory, the Helvetic army resolved to celebrate it with signal splendour. In all the pomp of military triumph, they accompanied Sforza to Milan, where he was received with acclamations by the delighted populace. They had suffered indeed too long under the yoke of delegated authority, not to welcome back with undissembled exultation the son of their former sovereign.

The dignified behaviour of the Swiss, upon this memorable occasion, places the national character in a conspicuous light. Many difficulties arose respecting the manner, in which the investiture should be conferred. Cardinal Gourck pretended,

* Guicciard. III. 28.

that

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that the honour belonged to him, as the representative of the emperor in Italy; and insisted that the Helvetic ambassadors should attend only in quality of simple spectators, a claim, to which Sforza himself seemed inclined to yield. The contest was at length decided by the spirit of Hohensax, who declared, "that if the duke "of Milan refused to receive the ducal "crown from the hands of those who "had obtained it for him, they would levy "contributions for the payment of their "arrears, and abandon him to his fate."

This menace enforced on the part of Sforza, a reluctant compliance. The pride of Hohensax, however, was not yet sufficiently gratified. In a public assembly he stated to the duke, that the Helvetic troops were greatly offended at his ill-judged partiality toward the Germans. "This un-"grateful conduct," said the haughty republican, "tends obviously to degrade the "Swiss in the eyes of the Cisalpine powers; "those Swiss, whose valour and perseve-"rance have seated you on the throne "of your ancestors."

Having thus forced the cowardly Italian to blush at his own ingratitude, he continued; "With respect to your future des-" tiny, prince, rely on the courage of your " friends. The Helvetic people have " crowned you, and in spite of your ene-" mies they will defend you. But they, " expect at the same time, that you de-" serve their protection, by an inviolable " attachment to their interests, a punctual " execution of existing treaties, and an " unshaken confidence in their bravery*."

Gloriously however as this contest terminated, it would have proved still more honourable to the Swiss, had justice and generosity been the only sources of their ardour. But the son of Ludovico was doomed to recompence their venal valour with exorbitant subsidies, and the sacrifice of the Italian bailiwics. He farther granted to their merchants the important privilege of trading in every part of the duchy, the capital excepted, without being subject to the smallest duties. He also engaged,

* May, IV. 50.

never

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never to enrol any Swiss without the consent of the government, and promised whenever they should call upon him, to furnish five hundred horse, at his own expense. He soon learned from experience, that no concessions were too extravagant to secure the protection of a people, in whose hands the balance of Italy seemed now to be placed. Engaging more deeply in the boisterous scene, the Swiss concluded a treaty with the duke of Savoy, by which he was enabled to subsidise six thousand troops on terms most favourable to their cantons*.

Adversity having humbled the pride of Lewis, he condescended to treat with the Helvetic people, on terms of their own prescribing; and even to purchase passports for his ambassadors, under pretext of discharging an ancient debt. Lewis selected men of distinguished abilities, the marshal duc de la Tramouille, the bishop of Marseilles, and the president of the parliament of Dijon, for this delicate mission†.

* Mallet, II. 386. † Guichenon, I.

The

The vanity of the republic was highly gratified by the rank and dignities of the duke. The bishop was celebrated for his eloquence, judgment, and general affability. While the president was eminent for professional talent, and a comprehensive knowledge of European politics. Soon after their arrival at Lucerne, they were joined by the venerable Trivulzi, one of the most experienced warriors of the age. But so great was the jealousy entertained of French intrigue, that houses were assigned to the two generals in opposite quarters of the town, and all intercourse was prohibited between them. This latter precaution was probably intended as a reflection on the integrity of Trivulzi, who is said to have abused the confidence of the Helvetic commanders upon a former occasion, and to have availed himself of a passport granted solely for his personal security, to transport effects of considerable value out of Italy.

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1513.

Such, however, was the irritation of the public mind, that every concession was

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thrown away*, and instead of inspiring confidence, and moderation, served only to render the diet more unreasonable and more peremptory, in their pretensions. In proportion as the pride of monarchy was induced to yield, the insolence of democracy increased; till after having patiently submitted to repeated indignities, the ambassadors received the Swiss ultimatum, comprised with offensive brevity, in the following words; "If the king be sincere in wishing to renew his ancient alliance with the Helvetic people, he must transfer the fair from Lyons to Geneva, and renounce every claim to the duchy of Milan †.

A request so extravagant was nearly equivalent to a declaration of war: for it

* A servant, belonging to one of the ambassadors, happened in a drunken frolic to pull down the arms of Berne from some public building. In vain his master apologised; the insult was imputed to design, and the life of the offender was required in return. To this the ministers were constrained to yield, rather than precipitately break off the treaty. Tscharner.

† Mallet, II. 390.

could

could not be expected that Lewis, though prepared to make considerable sacrifices, would consent to purchase peace at the expence of honour. Finding that his hopes were frustrated by the haughty obstinacy of his foes, he hastily concluded a treaty with the Venetians, who, disgusted at the overbearing temper of the emperor, were disposed to listen to any proposals*. At this important crisis an event took place, which threatened to produce an entire change in the situation of Italy, the pope, after a long and painful illness, now terminated his tumultuous career. CHAP. XXV

Considered merely in the light of a christian bishop, Julius supplies us with little to admire, as he was an entire stranger to every mild and christian virtue. But if we look for the splendid talents of a consummate statesman, for penetration and judgment, for activity and resolution, his character will appear in a very different light†. Ambitious of immortalising his reign

* Guicciard. III. 61.

† He is thus described by Guiciardini: "*Principe di animo*

CHAP. XXV.

reign by acts of public utility, he delivered the ecclesiastical states from a swarm of petty tyrants, who had derided with impunity the impotence of former pontiffs. By the liberal patronage which he afforded to men of eminence in every profession, he rendered the capital of the christian world the favourite abode of learning, genius, and the arts. In a word, he would have ranked among the greatest sovereigns, had he been placed by providence upon a secular throne.

The following anecdote, related by Millot, may serve to show in how different a point of view, from most of his predecessors, he regarded the discipline of the church. Some of the German princes having applied for permission to eat meat on the festival of St. Martin, in case it should happen on a Friday, Julius sarcas-

animo e' di costanza inestimabile, ma impetuoso, e' di concetti smisurati—degno certamente di somma laude, se fosse stato principe secolare; o se quella cura e' intenzione, che ebbe a esaltare con le arti della guerra la chiesa nella grandezza temporale avesse avuta a esaltare con le arti della pace nelle cose spirituali. III. 53.

tically

tically replied, " Let them eat what they CHAP.
" please; but on condition that, if I allow XXV.
" them to feast on flesh, they shall promise
" to *abstain from wine**."

* Histoire Generale, VII. 144.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Leo X. succeeds to the Papal Chair; negociates with the Swiss, and determines to pursue the Plans of his Predecessor—The French invade Italy—Battle of Novara—The Swiss enter France, and lay siege to Dijon, which is saved by the Duplicity of La Tremouille—Appenzel added to the Confederacy---Death of Lewis XII.---Accession of Francis I.---He resolves to conquer Lombardy---Crosses the Alps—Battle of Marignano.

CHAP. THE sanguine hopes, entertained by the French after the death of Julius, were suddenly damped, when the choice of the conclave was made known. The name of Leo X. recals to the delighted fancy a scene of refinement and genius, of elegance and splendor, with which the courts of Europe had been totally unacquainted, since the polished days of Augustus. His pontificate

pontificate forms a memorable epocha in the history of the human mind.

The cardinal de Medici had been admitted to the most secret councils of his predecessor, and had imbibed their genuine spirit. But, cast by nature in a softer mould, he wished to accomplish his designs by less violent methods.* Motives, likewise of a personal nature conduced to alienate his mind from the interests of France. The ruin of the house of Medici still rankled in his heart, and rendered odious the memory of the nation, by whose barbarous hand it had been achieved.

Versed in all the intricacies of Italian policy, he resolved, if possible, to exclude every foreign power from any share in the government of a country, which was the chosen seat of religion and the arts. No sooner, therefore, was he made acquainted with the treaty between Lewis and the Venetians, than he determined to counteract it by an alliance with the Helvetic

* The character of Leo is admirably drawn by Denina, V. y.

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cantons.* Accordingly the cardinal of Sion, who still continued to enjoy unlimited favour, was commissioned to distribute money among them with a liberal hand, and to court disgraceful popularity by the usual arts of intrigue.

Lewis, however, quickly perceived that he had no longer to contend against the implacable spirit, which had hitherto directed the operations of the war. The charms of literature, and the fascinations of pleasure, would occasionally divert the attention of Leo from the scenes of ambition; and in reliance upon these conjectures,† he assembled an army under the joint command of la Tremouille and Trivulzi, for the avowed purpose of re-conquering the Milanese.

Without experiencing the slightest opposition, his soldiers traversed the immense chain of the Alps, and having descended into the plains of Lombardy, advanced with rapid marches toward Milan. The

* Guicciard. III. 63.

† Hume's Hist. England, III 450. 8vo edit.

duke had neglected every precaution for the defence of his capital, nor had he any troops in fit condition for actual service, except his body-guard, of a thousand Swiss.* CHAP. XXVI.

Alarmed at the impending storm, the effeminate Sforza once more addressed his supplications to his former protectors, who instantly flew in crowds to his relief. The situation of affairs was, however, nearly desperate. He had abandoned his capital in a sudden panic, and taken refuge within the walls of Novara. Under these circumstances of humiliation and danger, he was joined by his gallant allies, who no sooner entered the town, than they announced their determination to defend it to the last extremity.†

In conformity to an agreement between the court of Rome and the Helvetic government, an army, destined to co-operate

* May says that, besides his body-guard, Sforza had retained in his pay 3000 Swiss, who were employed in the different garrisons. IV. 53.

† Ib.

in

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in the defence of Lombardy, under the command of Raymond di Cordova, viceroy of Naples, advanced toward the theatre of war. But it quickly appeared that it was not their general's intention to encounter danger in the attempt; and that his only object was to avoid the imputation of treachery by an ostentatious display of cautious tactics. Having penetrated his insidious design, the Swiss commander sent to apprise him, with insulting defiance, "that he must henceforth trust to his own "resources; as he neither would receive "from him, nor afford him assistance: "hoping, by the favour of divine provi- "dence with the Helvetic troops *alone*, to "defend the Milanese against the united "powers of the earth."*

The rapid progress of the French had raised their expectations so high, that the conquest of Lombardy was regarded as certain. Upon commencing the siege of Novara, La Tremouille is even said to have written to the king, assuring him that

* Guicciard. III. 65. May, ib. 53.

a few

a few days would put an end to the war, and deliver Sforza a prisoner into his hands.* CHAP. XXVI.

Nor were the Swiss less confident of success. During the whole of the siege, they never suffered the gates to be shut; nobly declaring, that personal valour was the only protection in which a soldier ought to confide.† Upon the same principle they disdained to repair the breaches, insulting the enemy from the walls, and daring them to attempt an assault. Exasperated by repeated provocations, the lansquenets requested permission to storm the town, before the garrison received reinforcements. Their petition cost them dearly, as they were repulsed after a horrible carnage. The French generals now resolved to employ the slower but more certain system of a blockade, and retired in consequence to an advantageous position, about three miles distant from the town.‡

* Guicciard. ib. 70.

† Ib. May IV. 54.

‡ Guicciard. ib. 71.

Meanwhile

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Meanwhile the Helvetic government had been indefatigable in their exertions for the relief of Sforza; and an army of sixteen thousand men, commanded by Hohensax, was actually on it's march toward Italy, divided, for the sake of more easily procuring provisions, into two columns, and proceeding by different routes. The General traversed the lofty summits of the Vogelsberg, while May conducted the second division by the more practicable pass of the St. Gothard. By numerous obstacles, the former were considerably retarded; but the latter arrived under the walls of Novara, on the evening of the fifth of June.* A council of war was immediately summoned, in which it was resolved to attack the enemy, without waiting for the assistance of Hohensax.†

Never, according to the opinion of Guicciardini, did the magnanimity of the Helvetic character shine so conspicuously.‡

* May, ib. 55. † Ib. 56.

‡ III. 73. Macchiavelli also records the conduct of the Swiss upon this occasion, as a singular instance of courage. II. 17.

Destitute

Destitute both of cavalry and cannon, and in hourly expectation of numerous reinforcements, led on by an experienced chief, they sallied forth to encounter an army, nearly double in number to their own, and abundantly provided both with artillery and horse. CHAP. XXVI.

On the sixth of June, about one in the morning, the Swiss began their silent march. As they approached the outposts of the enemy, the awful stillness of the night was suddenly interrupted by a discharge of musquetry. Alarmed at the noise, the soldiers started from their sleep. A tumultuous cry of 'To arms! To arms!' resounded from every quarter. The lansquenets ran to the batteries. The assailants advanced however with persevering courage till they reached the enemy, when a most sanguinary conflict ensued.

Had the French cavalry behaved with as much valour as the infantry of Ger-

* According to May, the French army consisted of twenty thousand foot, and six thousand horse, while the Swiss had only seventeen thousand foot. Guicciardini makes the superiority of the former still greater.

many,

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many, their exertions it is probable would have been crowned with complete success. But from Guicciardini we learn that they were panic struck, and that no efforts of their commanders could persuade them to charge*. Exposed to the whole brunt of the action, the lansquenets remained immoveable at their post, till they were cut in pieces, almost to a man. Being now masters of the artillery, the victors turned it against the French; who, regardless of the intreaties and the example of their generals, fled with the utmost precipitation†. Such was the issue of the battle of Novara, which reflected immortal honour upon the Helvetic name, and raised the military reputation of the Swiss, to it's most splendid pre-eminence. From the numbers slain, some idea may be formed of the inveterate obstinacy, with which the

* Da altra parte quiete, é ozio grandissimo, doue stavano armali gli uomini d'arme; perché cedendo altimore nei soldati l'autorità, i commandamenti, i preghi, l'esclamazioni, le minace del Tramoglia, è del Trivulzio, non ebbero mai l'ardire d'investire gl'inimici. III. 74.

† Ib. 75.

victory

victory was disputed.* Ten thousand French and Germans were left dead on the field, while the Swiss lost upward of two thousand of their bravest troops. The same evening they re-entered Novara, preceded by twenty-two pieces of heavy artillery, an irrefragable proof of their glorious triumph. CHAP. XXVI.

The following anecdote, related by Zurlauben, in his military history of the Swiss,† cannot fail to excite the interest of all, who are acquainted with the tender emotions of paternal affection. During the confusion of a retreat, the prince of Sedan was informed that his two sons were surrounded by the enemy, and sinking through loss of blood. Putting himself at the head of a squadron of horse, the afflicted father cut his way through

* May makes them amount to 16,000. IV. 58. The insatiable love of long speeches, which he imbibed from the study of the ancients, induced Guicciardini to invent a story of a fabulous hero, whom he calls *Motino*, and whom he introduces for no other purpose than that of haranguing the army.

† IV. 445, &c.

the

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the hostile ranks, and arrived in time to rescue Jametz, who was still defending himself with heroic courage. Fleuranges had fallen, but his body being found covered with wounds, he was at length restored to the enjoyment of a life, which he was destined to immortalise by deeds of glory.

Consternation now seized upon the French. Without allowing time for reflection, or attending to the opinion of the experienced Trivulzi, they abandoned Italy. Availing themselves of their success, the Swiss overran Piedmont without the smallest opposition, levying enormous contributions upon all the towns, which had wavered in their fidelity toward Sforza. Nor were occasions wanting to gratify avarice in it's fullest extent. Relying on the superiority of numbers, Tremouille, at the commencement of the battle, had despatched couriers to most of the Italian courts, to announce the destruction of the enemy. Under this impression, they assumed the habit of festivity, singing *Te Deums* in impious mockery of the Almighty, while their hearts were

wrung

wrung with sorrow and disappointment. Even the infallible father of the christian world was for once mistaken, and illuminated Rome in honour of a people, whose ruin he would have witnessed or accomplished with inexpressible delight *.

Glorious as was the result of this short campaign, and decisive in it's influence on the fluctuating politics of Italy, at home it was attended with no salutary consequences whatever. The booty, acquired in the plains of Lombardy, instead of adding to the general stock of happiness, served only to disseminate corruption, jealousies, and discontent †.

Riches are relative possessions. The same fortune renders a man opulent in one country, which in another scarcely raises him above mediocrity. It was thus in Switzerland. The sudden inundation of

* Mallet, II. 400.

† According to Mallet, the contributions levied in Italy, when added to the subsidies paid by the duke of Milan, amounted to 380,000 ducats; a sum, which no other country could then have furnished with such facility. Ib.

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specie*, by lowering it's intrinsic value, occasioned an apparent rise in the price of every commodity of life; thus rendering camparatively poor, those families who enjoyed no share of the plunder.

The rising spirit of discontent was secretly fomented by the cardinal of Sion, who aspired, by some signal act of service to revive his declining credit with the pope. For this purpose, his emissaries were actively employed in misrepresenting the views of the government, or exciting the populace to open violence; a task seldom difficult, since man is prone to attribute his calamities to any thing, rather than to his own misconduct.

In various districts of the canton of Berne the people rose, demanding the punishment of those magistrates, whose political attachments were different from their own. Hetrel, though entitled by his age and services to universal respect, was ac-

* We are informed by May, that between the years 1500 and 1516, a sum equal to four millions sterling (computing money at it's present value) was introduced into Switzerland by foreign service. IV. 59.

cused

cused before a tribunal, whose decisions were dictated by the cry of prejudice, and who, rather than risk their lives in the defence of virtue, consented to send the venerable patriot to the scaffold*. The only charge preferred against him was, that his son had entered into the service of France, notoriously however in direct opposition to his father's wishes. By this disgraceful sacrifice, a temporary calm was restored; when the senate, taking advantage of the first favourable opportunity, endeavoured to purge off the acrimonious humours, by giving a different direction to their course. CHAP. XXVI.

The French interest was now so rapidly declining, that no proposal could have proved more popular, than that of transferring the seat of war into France, and by a powerful diversion compelling Lewis to abandon Italy for ever. This project was communicated to the emperor, who caught with eagerness at every opportunity of humbling his formidable rival, and pro-

* Id. ib.

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mised to assist in the undertaking. All preliminary arrangements being completed, an army crossed the Jura under the command of Watteville, and being joined at Gray by the duke of Wirtemberg with the Austrian cavalry and a train of artillery, the combined forces advanced without opposition to the gates of Dijon*.

Alarmed for the safety of that important place, La Tremouille threw himself into the town with a few companies of foot. But so vigorously did the assailants carry on the attack, that in a few days a breach was effected, and preparations made for a general assault†. Convinced of the inefficacy of farther resistance, and aware of the danger to which Paris would be exposed, if the victorious army should be suffered to advance, the marshal had recourse to a stratagem, which no sophistry could justify, since no loss is irreparable except that of honour. Having entered into a negociation with the Swiss, he consented to all their demands, convinced that

* Id. 60. † Id. ib.

his

his sovereign would refuse to ratify the convention, under pretence that he had exceeded his powers. CHAP. XXVI.

The leading feature of the treaty was the renunciation of every claim to the duchy of Milan, on the part of Lewis; the remainder being stipulations of inferior magnitude, which might have been commuted for a pecuniary equivalent. In order however to satisfy the doubts of the enemy, it was agreed that the count de Mezieres, the marshal's nephew, together with four officers of distinguished rank, should be delivered as hostages for the punctual execution of every article*.

It is scarcely possible to investigate this extraordinary transaction, without suspecting the Helvetic leaders of collusion. The precipitation, with which the armistice was concluded; the total disregard shown to the remonstrances of the imperial general; and the gratuitous confidence reposed in an enemy, without ascertaining the nature or extent of his powers; it would be difficult

* Mallet, III. 6. May, ib.

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to explain, without the intervention of that all-powerful charm, which has so frequently influenced the destiny of Helvetia*.

No sooner were the hostages arrived, than the army broke up the siege. Great however was the public discontent, when Mezieres fled; and it appeared that instead of men of rank and consideration, La Tremouille, taking advantage of the generous credulity of the Helvetic commanders, had sent as his four companions persons of obscure conditions, under the disguise of suppositious titles. A general sentiment of indignation pervaded all classes. But their

* The following letter from La Tremouille to the king, will enable the reader to judge of his distress. "Je vois, "sire, que vous trouverès le traité conclu avec messieurs "des ligues marveilleusement etrange. Par ma foi, sire, "aussi est-il. Mais par la mauvaise provision qui etait "par deça, et pour *conserver votre pais* j'ai eté contraint "de le faire. - - - - et je vous dis, que je vous ai *de-* "*trappè d'un aussi gros fait*, que jamais gentilhomme vous "detrappa; et si j'eusse *autrement* fait, fussent les Suisses "a cette heure en votre royaume plus avant, que n'est le "duchè de Bourgogne de long, et de large." Lettres de Louis XII. dans l'Histoire de France par Garnier, XXII. 502.

anger

anger was converted to madness, when intelligence arrived that Lewis refused to ratify the convention. Desirous, at the same time, of palliating his own disgrace, he wrote a letter to the diet, throwing the entire blame upon the marshal, and offering by money to redeem his perjured honour. CHAP. XXVI.

His proposal was rejected with disdain; and so violent was the clamour for instantaneous redress, that it was difficult for the magistrates to appease the resentment of the infuriated populace, and though winter was rapidly approaching, to prevent them from setting off for the immediate invasion.

The exhortations of prudence at length prevailed, and the expedition was deferred till the ensuing spring. This delay proved highly important to Lewis, as it allowed time to assemble troops, and to repair the fortifications of the frontier towns *.

The following year was spent in nego- 1514.

* Even May himself, anxious as he is to vindicate the honour of his countrymen, is unable to allege the smallest excuse in defence of the treaty of Dijon. Ib.

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ciations, of which Italy was the principal object. In the protection of Lombardy the pride and the resentment of the Swiss were equally concerned; for the wretched phantom, in whose personal cause they fought, was incapable of exciting any sentiment except that of contempt. At a time, when his brave allies were occupied in manly exertions for the defence of Milan, Sforza was squandering away the precious moments in licentious pleasures. Nor does it appear that his sordid bosom ever felt gratitude toward those, to whose protection he was indebted for his throne. On the contrary, he regretted that the money which was expended in their support, could not be employed in the purchase of empty pageantry, or as the reward of courtly prostitution*.

Before we proceed to the events, occasioned by the death of Lewis XII. it becomes necessary to advert to the internal state of the Helvetic confederacy, which was now entirely completed by the ac-

* Mallet, III. 10.

cession of Appenzel. The terms of reception of the thirteenth canton were nearly similar to those, which had been granted to Bâle and Shaffhausen. The other cantons engaged to protect them, within the limits of their ancient territory, and to allow them a share in all future acquisitions; while they on their part promised, in the event of internal dissensions, to observe the strictest neutrality; and farther covenanted never to conclude an alliance with any foreign power, unless with the consent of their entire co-estates*. CHAP. XXVI.

Not long after the signature of the foregoing treaty, the city of Constance petitioned for a similar indulgence; but difficulties arose in the course of the negociation, which prevented it from being brought to maturity. The citizens of Constance, indeed, claimed privileges, which were totally inadmissible, since they were compensated by no adequate returns: whereas the union with Appenzel was indicated by the unerring hand of nature, and enforced

* May, ib. 61.

by

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by the dictates of enlightened policy. For though the greater part of the country was covered by barren rocks, and by eternal snows, it's population exceeded fifty thousand souls, enured to toil and danger; and capable, by persevering industry, of fertilizing an inclement soil*.

Still, however, a league with Constance presented many advantages, to which the insulated situation of Mulhausen and Rotweil could never pretend. It must therefore have been solely from sentiments of generosity, combined with the habits of ancient friendship, that they were admitted as perpetual allies. The independence of the former was originally established through the efforts of Berne and Soleure. This honourable protection inspired feelings of parental regard, which ultimately led to a treaty, displaying a solitary instance of political benevolence. The machinations of interest and the encroachments of ambition fall daily under the lash of the historian; but it is rarely his duty to record ac-

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tions generated solely by the impulse of sympathy, and achieved by statesmen without the scale and compass in their hands. CHAP. XXVI.

The situation of Rotweil was nearly similar. In 1385 it had formed a partial alliance with some of the cantons*, which was gradually extended to the whole confederacy. During the Burgundian and Suabian wars, it persevered with unshaken fidelity in it's political engagements, and thus merited additional favours. For some years, it continued to send deputies to the Helvetic diet, and was even included in the convention with France†.

Lewis was meditating another expedi-

* With Berne, Zuric, Zug, and Soleure. Mallet, III. 14.

† Since the year 1630, these privileges have entirely ceased. In times of war Rotweil has been usually garrisoned by Austrians, and it's contributions have been paid into the imperial chamber. Yet instances may be produced, when ancient habits have prevailed. It was at the intercession of the Helvetic government that Rotweil was exempted from the horrors of war, when Turenne laid waste the banks of the Rhine, and tarnished his glory by unprovoked ferocity.

tion

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tion into Italy, when he fell a victim to his passion for a young and beautiful wife*. His death, however, occasioned very little variation in the politics of his empire, as his projects were pursued with the utmost ardour by his successor.

At the age of twenty-one Francis I. ascended the throne of France. Adorned with every brilliant accomplishment that art or nature could bestow, and inflamed with an insatiable passion for military glory, he turned his eyes with anxious expectation toward Italy. As it was necessary however to secure his dominions against foreign aggression, before he entered upon this romantic career, he endeavoured by treaties and alliances to secure the friendship, or the neutrality, of those sovereigns, from whose power he had most to apprehend. Henry VIII. had been so often deceived by the insidious policy of Ferdinand, that he determined to break off all farther connection with Spain, and consequently received the overtures of Francis

* Mary, sister of Henry VIII. king of England.

with

with the most flattering expressions of regard*. The turbulent spirit of the Flemings, joined to the uncertainty of his future prospects†, were strong inducements with the arch-duke Charles to court the alliance of France. The king of Spain, on the contrary, demanded a specific renunciation of all claims upon the Milanese, as an indispensable preliminary to peace. Perceiving that Francis entertained too elevated a notion of honour to disguise his intentions at the expense of truth, he imputed his scruples to the weakness of his understanding, and avowed his resolution of defending Italy against every aggressor‡. While Maximilian, who was at that time completely governed by the superior genius of Ferdinand, seems for once to

* Hume's Hist. of England, xxviii.

† Ferdinand is supposed, by some historians, to have entertained an idea of bequeathing the Spanish crown to his youngest nephew Ferdinand, who had been educated under his own inspection, and who was extremely popular in that country. Robertson, however, does not give credit to this report.

‡ Gaillard Hist. de François, I. 210.

have

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have conducted himself with dignity and firmness, through mere weakness and inconsistency.

Being now thoroughly acquainted with the views and interests of all the great European powers, Francis concluded a treaty with the Venetians, by which they mutually bound themselves to continue the war, till they recovered all their losses in Italy*.

This alliance, however, was yet enveloped in the profoundest mystery. But as the magnitude of his preparations could not fail to excite universal attention, it became requisite to deceive the world, if possible, respecting their real object. The ill-humour of the Swiss, who not only rejected every offer toward an accommodation, unless the treaty of Dijon was fulfilled, but even threatened Burgundy with a second invasion, afforded him the needed excuse †.

The complaints of Francis against the Helvetic people, as they deluded the vigilance of the Italians, in some measure pro-

* Gaillard, 211. † Ib. 212. Guicciard.

duced

duced the desired effect. Even the sagacious Leo was deceived. That a prince, scarcely seated upon his throne, should find leisure to engage in such extensive schemes, exceeded the limits of his belief. In vain did Ferdinand admonish him of the common danger, and exhort him to join in a league, which he had recently concluded with Maximilian and the Swiss, for the defence of Milan*. CHAP. XXVI.

His security was probably owing to the different pursuits which then occupied his attention, and which he endeavoured to disguise under an affected display of moderation; declaring, that a system of strict neutrality was the only one becoming the common father of the christian world. Another concern, however, sat nearer to his heart, than the duties of the pontificate. Desirous of erecting Parma and Placencia into an independent principality, for his nephew, Guiliano de Medici, and of replacing Lorenzo at the head of the Florentine government†, he foresaw many ob-

* Guicciardini, III. 142. † Gaillard, 216.

stacles

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stacles to encounter, which nothing but the most perfect harmony with all the great European powers, could possibly enable him to surmount.

Such was the state of Italian politics, when a revolution, effected at Genoa by the intrigues of France, announced to the astonished world the gigantic projects of the new monarch*. In a moment, all the plans of the league were completely frustrated, and instead of carrying the war into the enemy's country, as they vainly designed, it became requisite to provide immediately for the defence of Lombardy.

Convinced that little confidence could be placed in their allies, the Swiss undertook to guard all the passes of the Alps, which were supposed to be practicable for troops. With a view of maintaining a good understanding with every party, the pope sent an army into the duchy of Parma, under the command of his nephew Giuliano†; but with positive injunctions not to cross the Po. Ever faithful to the system

* May, IV. 63. † Guicciard. 146.

of

of duplicity, which is regarded by the Italians as the perfection of human genius, he pretended to the Swiss, that it was designed to act in concert with their forces, though he gave a secret assurance to the king of France, that it was destined solely for the protection of Parma*.

In it's progress toward the scene of action, the Helvetic army laid waste the dominions of the duke of Savoy, which they actually parcelled out among their adherents. To the cardinal of Sion, who was the life and soul of every enterprise calculated to humble the pride of France, they allotted Savoy, with the title of duke; they bestowed the marquisate of Saluzzo upon his brother, and offered Carmagnola to Prospero Colonna, who commanded the papal cavalry, if he would second their operations with zeal and activity†.

As it was now in vain to dissemble, Francis, after having appointed his mother regent, set off from Paris. The army was ordered to rendezvous at Lyons, where he

* Guicciard. XII. † Gaillard, 92.

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determined to fix his court, till the duke of Bourbon, who commanded the van, should have obtained a footing in Italy.

There were only two roads over the Alps, which were deemed practicable for artillery; the one across mount Cenis, by a direct and easy passage. The other in a more southern direction, by the summit of the Genevre. But as Suza and Pignerol were occupied by the Swiss, neither of these could be attempted without imminent danger.

The enemy, however, it was imagined, might be induced to abandon those advantageous positions, in case a division of the army should land at Genoa. A considerable body of men was accordingly embarked for that place* with orders to penetrate into Lombardy, and attack the enemy in flank. But every difficulty seemed to augment so much on nearer inspection, that it afforded a constant source of inquietude to the king, who now too late regretted his error, in having suffered the defiles to be

* May, ib.

seized

seized by the foe. At this anxious mo- CHAP. XXVI.
ment, a peasant, whose life had been spent in hunting the chamois amid the snows of the Alps, suggested the possibility of find- a third route over the untrodden summit of the Argentiere*.

The confidence, with which he supported his opinion, induced the ablest generals to explore the country, and under their sanction Francis determined to make the attempt.

After crossing the rapid Durance, in the beginning of August, the army began to ascend the mountains with mixed sensations of terror and delight. Three thousand pioneers led the way, who by incessant exertions hewed out a practicable path over rocks, which the foot of man had never pressed before. When the axe and mattock proved unequal to the attempt, recourse was had to the aid of gunpowder. At other times pines, which had been attached for ages to their native cliffs, were thrown across the frightful chasms, and

* Gaillard, I. 233.

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served as bridges for veterans, who trembled, as they crossed the gulfs yawning beneath their feet.

With noble emulation, both officers and soldiers concurred in the labour of this arduous undertaking. While some were occupied in assisting the pioneers, others toiled in dragging the cannon up the almost perpendicular acclivities, and in letting them down again on the other side, a work of scarcely less difficulty*! After continuing their march for six days amidst incessant perils, they were flattered with the hope that every impediment was at length surmounted, and that the splendours of Italy were about to open to their view; when another mountain, more steep than any which they had hitherto encountered, obstructed their farther progress. The sapping tools were applied, without effect. The powers of gunpowder were tried in vain. Consternation now seized the most

* The difficulties attending this perilous march are circumstantially described by Jovius, in the fifteenth book of his valuable History.

sanguine,

sanguine, at the melancholy prospect of being compelled to tread back the same dreary path, without the same hopes and prospects to support them. CHAP. XXVI.

By repeated efforts a vein was discovered, which yielded to their strenuous ingenuity. The rock was perforated. The army passed; and after a march of eight days, scarcely less astonishing than that of Annibal, the plains of Lombardy burst upon their eyes, a dazzling scene of wealth, population, and fertility*.

Descending without opposition by different roads, the army advanced to Villafranca, where they surprised Prospero Collonna at dinner†. Giving way to the bitterness of wounded pride, the gallant veteran, with expressions of the most poignant grief lamented the loss of all his glory. Nor did he recover the shock, till he had published a full justification of his conduct, which was highly flattering to French vanity. "It is the duty of an experienced "general," said the hero of Italy, "to

* Gaillard, I. 234, &c. † Guicciard. III. 151.

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"guard against every possible danger, but "to be over-powered by supernatural means "could not justly be imputed as a re- "proach*."

Meanwhile the troops, under Aimar de Prie, had landed at Genoa, whence they advanced by rapid marches toward Tortona and Alexandria, both of which immediately opened their gates†.

Thus were all the plans of the allies completely frustrated; and as suspicion is the constant attendant on deceit, they mutually accused each other of perfidy and neglect. From this moment they ceased to act in concert, endeavouring to contribute as little as possible toward the common cause, and to secure to themselves every attainable advantage, through the medium of artifice and intrigue.

The king of Spain who had undertaken to furnish the necessary funds for the support of the Helvetic troops, and had actually remitted large sums to Naples for that purpose, sent orders to the commissioners

* Gaillard, 241. † Gaillard, ib.

to

to withhold the subsidies; while the pope, under a sudden panic had begun already to negociate with the French*. CHAP. XXVI.

It is difficult to convey an adequate idea of the rage and disappointment of the Swiss when they heard of the approach of the French†. Giving way to the dictates of passion, they suffered themselves to be wholly guided by the impetuous temper of the cardinal; who with manly courage proposed to attack the enemy, before their different columns could unite. This prudent counsel was however unfortunately overruled by the timid policy of Watteville, whose narrow genius was unable to comprehend, that in certain situations the boldest measures are likewise the most prudent. At his instigation, an advantageous position was hastily abandoned, and a retreat attempted to Milan‡. The army separated into two bodies. The troops from the democratic cantons, to the number of about eighteen thousand, among whom the influence of the cardinal was

* Guiccard. III. 152. † May, IV. 63. ‡ Ib.

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still unbounded, continued their route to Galera, where they halted in expectation of receiving reinforcements from the papal army *; while the contingents from Berne, Friburg, and Soleure directed their course toward Arona, with the intention of regaining Switzerland †. The main body was conducted by the cardinal in person, who marched at their head, clad in complete armour, and performing all the functions of an experienced general with ability and vigour ‡.

Bayard, who had been ordered to watch the movements of the enemy, learning the disunion which prevailed in the Helvetic camp, communicated the intelligence to the constable de Bourbon, who with the van of the French army had taken post at Marignano. Bourbon immediately despatched a messenger to the King, requesting permission to attack the Swiss, and

* Ibid.

† Ib. This division, commanded by Watteville, consisted of 12,000 men.

‡ Mallet, III. 26.

undertaking

undertaking to answer for his success. But in the opinion of Francis, victory would have been deprived of half it's charms, if obtained without his co-operation. Having accordingly renewed his orders, that the army should remain in a defensive posture till his arrival, he hastened to the scene of action with all the impetuosity of youth *. CHAP. XXVI.

Through the neglect or the perfidy of their allies, who failed in every engagement, the Swiss were reduced to real distress. This added greatly to their natural ferocity, and instigated them to plunder the adjacent country; and thus, by alienating the minds of the inhabitants, aggravated the misery which it was intended to alleviate †.

Convinced from fatal experience, that no assistance could be expected from the temporising policy of Ferdinand and Leo, although their united forces had actually

* Gaillard, I 245.

† Even May is compelled to confess that the behaviour of his countrymen was extremely ferocious. ib.

advanced

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advanced to the banks of the Po, the Helvetic leaders no longer refused to listen to the proposals, made to them by the duke of Savoy, for terminating the quarrel by negociation; and in spite of the remonstrances of the indignant cardinal, commissioners were actually appointed to treat for peace.

In no action of his life does the character of Francis appear in so amiable a light. While detachments of his troops took possession of Pavia, and advanced within sight of Milan, he listened with patience to the most extravagant demands, consenting to fulfil all the pecuniary engagements which his predecessor had by the treaty of Dijon contracted, and farther to pay six hundred thousand crowns, by way of equivalent for the cession of the Italian bailiwics. As a recompence to Maximilian Sforza for the loss of his duchy, he proposed a suitable establishment in France, with a revenue equal to the dignity of his new station.*

* Sforza was to receive the duchy of Nemours, a company of guards, a considerable pension, and the hand of a princess in marriage. May, ib. 64. Guiccard. III. 156.

Though

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Though advantageous to the Swiss in many respects, this treaty was liable to strong objections; and might even be regarded as derogatory from the honour of the nation; implying a specific renunciation of the main object, for the attainment of which they had taken up arms.

Addressing himself to the pride and prejudices of his countrymen, the cardinal opposed every compromise, with that forcible eloquence, which is better calculated to inflame the passions than to convince the understanding; disseminated discord through the camp with vindictive enthusiasm, and exhorted the soldiers never to abandon the unfortunate Sforza, or blast for ever the laurels, which they had so abundantly reaped in the Italian wars. "If you now relinquish the contest," said he, "your retreat will be imputed to the "basest motives. You will be upbraided "with cowardice, for not having dared to "face your ancient rivals the Lansque-"nets." Adverting to the moderation of the French, he inquired with a sarcastic smile, "If any man was weak enough to ascribe

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" ascribe their forbearance to humanity,
" or to the wish of sparing christian blood?
" It was from fear alone, that it proceeded;
" though they assumed the mask of com-
" passion, as a cloak for their perfidious
" designs.—Think not," he cried with pro-
phetic fury, " that if they are suffered to
" escape from the avenging sword of Hel-
" vetia, it will be to live with the Helvetic
" people on terms of amity. The hope is
" delusion. On the contrary, their hatred
" will be treasured up, till the means of
" gratification come within their reach.
" Never, no never, did Fortune favour the
" destinies of Switzerland with vengeance
" so sure and so decisive. The flower of
" the French nobility are assembled round
" their young and inexperienced monarch.
" All their wealth is heaped together in
" yonder camp. Hence victory will be at-
" tended with every blessing which can
" give a charm to conquest; unbounded
" riches and everlasting renown *."

Yet

* Memoires du Bellay, I. Guicciard. III. 162. Gaillard, 250. The marechal de Fleuranges also informs us, that

Yet notwithstanding this energetic appeal to the vanity and avarice of his followers, the treaty was ratified on the ninth of September, by a majority of the Helvetic deputies*; though most of the democratic cantons refused to accede.

The column under Watteville still remained at Arona; but no sooner were they informed that hostilities were suspended, than they broke up their camp, and continued their march toward Switzerland. Yet notwithstanding the prospect of immediate peace, it appeared to several of the Helvetic captains, that to abandon their duty under any circumstances was degrading to the honour of soldiers. They accordingly determined to rejoin the main army at Galera†, and carried with them about four thousand men.

that the cardinal assembled the troops, and placing himself in the midst of them, in a chair, addressed to them a most inflammatory harangue.

* It was signed by the representatives of Berne, Lucerne, Bâle, Friburg, Soleure, Shaffhausen, Appenzel, Bienne, and the Valais. May, ib. 64.

† The principal of these were D'Erlach, de Bonstetten, Halwyl, Diesbach, May, Frisching, and Stein. May, ib. 65.

The

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The events, which led to the approaching battle, are so differently related by different historians, that it is no easy task to discover the truth. By most of the French writers, the Swiss are accused of having formed a plan, with deliberate perfidy, for attacking Lautrec, on his way to Buffalora, whither he was proceeding with the money for the Helvetic army*. The Helvetic historians, on the contrary, attribute entirely to the influence of the cardinal the fatal procedure. But in all their accounts, there is a want of perspicuity, clearly indicating that there is something which they wish to disguise.

By the continuance of peace, the plan of Schinner would have been completely frustrated. He felt that his consequence depended entirely upon the continuance of the war, and that in tranquil times a demagogue must necessarily sink into obscurity. Disappointment, however, served only to stimulate the energies of his mind to greater exertions. By his exhortations

* Guillard, 250.

and

and entreaties he prevailed upon the com- CHAP. XXVI.
manders, who had signed the pacification, not to quit the army; assuring them, on undoubted authority, that it was the intention of the French to overwhelm their devoted countrymen by the superiority of numbers, the moment they were deserted by their leaders*. By these and similar artifices, he induced them to abandon Galera, and to take post at St. Donato, between Marignano and Milan.

The cardinal now called together the principal officers, who had refused to accede to the treaty, and imparted to them his plan for bringing on a general engagement. He assured them, at the same time, that the papal troops were prepared to co-operate in the destruction of a power, whose existence was incompatible with the safety of Italy.

Specious as these arguments might ap-

* Though Guicciardini attributes the renewal of hostilities to the intrigues of the cardinal, he is totally silent with respect to the charge of intentional treachery; which would hardly have been the case, had the accusation been true, as he is by no means partial to the Swiss. (XII.)

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pear to men who panted after revenge, the project was received in a very different manner from what the prelate had expected. To fall upon the French when securely reposing on the faith of a treaty, so recently concluded, was regarded even by those who were most hostilely inclined, as utterly inconsistent with the dictates of honour. Nor could all his rhetoric convince them, that any advantages, however splendid, could efface the turpitude of conduct so atrocious.

Schinner, however, was not to be deterred by any obstacles. Having found a man, who was ready to undertake the boldest enterprise for an adequate reward, he resolved to attack the enemy with the duke of Milan's guards, which Arnold de Winkelrid had secretly prepared for that dangerous service*.

A skirmish accordingly took place with the advanced guard of the French. But no sooner had the firing commenced, than

* This is a fact in which most historians agree. May, ib. 66.

the

the militia of Uri, Schweitz, and Unterwalden seized their standards, and rushed to battle with ferocious acclamations. This was precisely what the cardinal expected, who rode immediately to the camp, calling out, that the "enemy was in motion." His stratagem succeeded; and although the day was far advanced, the whole army was immediately under arms*. CHAP. XVI.

Francis was engaged in conversation with Alviano, the Venetian commander, when he was informed by Bourbon that the Swiss were advancing†. Alviano instantly mounted his horse, to hasten the march of his troops; while the king and the constable flew from post to post, to prepare for the approaching combat‡.

The Swiss pressed forward with impetuous courage, hoping to make themselves masters of the artillery, before the enemy was prepared to oppose them. Without regarding the movements of the cavalry, they rushed intrepidly toward the batteries, which were defended by the lansquenets.

* May, ib. † Gaillard, 257. ‡ Id. ib.

CHAP. XXVI. Unable to sustain the shock, the Germans gave way, and left the cannon exposed *. Bourbon, whose penetrating eye pervaded every quarter, now joined the king. At the head of the *black bands*†, and a numerous train of warlike nobility, they opposed the fury of the assailants, till the German auxiliaries had time to rally. Led on by the constable, the cavalry essayed in vain to break the Helvetic line. More than twenty times they returned to the charge, and were as often repulsed with great slaughter. The king hurried to their assistance, and by his well-directed efforts preserved them from destruction.

The approaching night almost prevented the combatants from distinguishing be-

* Du Bellay says, that the lansquenets were so astonished at the temerity of this manœuvre, that they for a moment suspected the honour of the French, believing the battle a mere feint to sacrifice them to their implacable foes. 1.

† This celebrated corps, whose appellation was derived from the colour of their standard, had acquired immortal glory in the wars between the emperor and the Duke of Gueldres. Gaillard.

tween

tween friend and foe; yet they continued to fight in promiscuous groupes, and with the inveteracy of personal animosity. Amidst the general confusion, Francis found himself surrounded by the Helvetic infantry *, which he had mistaken for Germans, and must infallibly have been made a prisoner, had he not been rescued by the impetuous valour of Bourbon †. Yet neither the want of light, nor exhausted strength, sufficed to produce a suspension of carnage.‡ Hitherto they had been guided in the work of slaughter by the uncertain beams of the moon. These, toward midnight, totally failed, when fatigue and darkness at length produced an awful but involuntary pause. Every soldier, however, remained at his post; the cavalry on horseback, and the infantry under arms.

* Both French and Swiss wore white sashes; so that the only distinction consisted in the keys, which the latter assumed in token of their alliance with the Holy See. Gaillard, 261.

† Id. ib. May uses the following emphatical words, "Il s'eleva pour lors un combat si furieux, que de memoire d'homme l'on n'en avait vu de pareil." 66.

‡ Gaillard, 262.

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While wandering among the ranks to sustain the courage of his wearied soldiery, Schinner fell into the midst of the lansquenets; but perceiving his mistake, he addressed them in their native tongue, and thus effected his escape. Directing his steps toward a burning cottage, he found the Helvetic captains in close debate, and assisted with his counsels in settling the plan of attack, to be executed at the dawn of day. Provisions were procured from Milan to refresh their fainting forces, and messengers were despatched into every part of Italy, announcing the destruction of the Gallic army*.

Meanwhile the king was not less indefatigable in making preparations for recommencing the battle. He passed the night reclining on the carriage of a cannon, with no covering but the sky, and with no other light than that of a single torch. Worn out with bodily fatigue, he called for water. It was brought, in a helmet, from the ad-

* Guicciard. III. 166.

jacent

jacent stream*. He seized it eagerly, and actually swallowed several mouthfuls before he discovered that it was tinged with blood. Disgusted at the horrid idea, he brought it up again, and leaning on his iron pillow, gave way to a train of melancholy reflections. But his meditations were quickly interrupted by Chabannes, who whispered to him, that he was within sixty paces of the Swiss. After a moment's consideration, the king ordered the flambeau to be extinguished, resolving to trust entirely to providence for protection†. CHAP. XXVI.

Assembling round their respective standards, at the dawn of day, the confederates renewed the attack with so much impetuosity, that the Germans were compelled to recede. But Bourbon, who seemed to be in every place where his presence was required, supported them so gallantly with the French cavalry, that the Swiss

* This circumstance is given upon the authority of Marshal Fleuranges, who was himself a spectator of the event.

† Gaillard, 264.

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were unable to advance. The artillery was now brought to bear on the Helvetic line, and swept away hundreds at every discharge. During the space of four hours, the combat was maintained on both sides with a fury, which approached to desperation. At this important crisis Alviano arrived, and attacked the Swiss in flank*. To contend against a fresh army, after the enormous loss which they had sustained, was to expose themselves to certain destruction. A retreat was accordingly attempted. Yet still disdaining to acknowledge themselves defeated, the troops were formed into a compact column, and having placed the wounded on waggons, they carried off twelve of the enemy's banners and fifteen pieces of artillery†. During their whole march to Milan, they frequently halted in bold defiance of the foe‡.

* The vanity of the French will not admit the Venetians to any share in the glory of the day; but according to Guicciardini, the event of the battle was still doubtful, when Alviano came up. III. 166.

† May, ib.

‡ Id. ib.

Satisfied

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Satisfied with the advantage already acquired, the king positively rejected all the importunities of his generals, who urged him to harass the Swiss during their retreat. This resolution is attributed by the French to feelings of humanity; while Helvetic pride ascribes it, perhaps, with greater truth, to motives of discretion*.

Few battles were ever contested with more inveterate obstinacy; Gaillard, with most of the historians of his own nation, makes the loss of the Swiss amount to upward of fifteen thousand men†; and estimates that of the French at little more than a third; while the Helvetic writers nearly reverse the numbers‡. Nor do they differ less respecting the strength of both the armies. But from every statement it is easy to infer, that the Swiss were greatly inferior in numbers. Yet in spite of every

* Guicciardini inclines toward the latter opinion. Ib.

† Ib. 270.

‡ May, ib. 67.

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disadvantage, it is highly probable, if the engagement had commenced at an earlier hour, the French would have sustained a signal defeat. But the masterly dispositions, which were made by Bourbon during the night, enabled the French to avail themselves of their superiority in cavalry, and to employ their artillery with most destructive effect*.

Many persons of distinction perished on the side of the victors; among others the duke of Chatelleraud, the prince of Talmond, and the gallant Imbercourt; to the latter, of whom a monument was erected, on the spot where he fell, at the expence of the army, with the simple inscription, *ubi honos partus, ibi tumulus erectus*†.

The king not only received several contusions, but his armour was perforated in

* Marshal Trivulzi, who had been present at eighteen battles, and among others at Novara, called that of Marignano, with emphatic praise, a *combat of giants*, in comparison of which, he said, all former fights appeared *like children's play*. Gaillard, 271.

† Gaillard, 281.

various

various places. He is represented as having braved every danger with the temerity of an adventurer, whose fortune depended on his sword; and is also said to have displayed the talents of an able general. The duke of Bourbon acquired immortal glory by the sagacity of his plans, and the rapidity and courage with which he carried them into execution*.

Having spent the three following days in burying the dead, Francis caused masses to be celebrated with extraordinary pomp in every part of Italy. Among the heaps of slain, many Swiss were found breathing, who by skilful treatment were restored to health, and sent back without ransom to their native land†.

His next care was to remunerate those, who had most distinguished themselves amidst a crowd of heroes, by conferring

* In a letter written on the field of battle, to the duchess of Angoulême, the king speaks of Bourbon in the following terms, *il ne s'epargnoit plus que sanglier echauffé*. Gaillard, 272.

† May, ib. 67.

upon

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upon them the honour of knighthood. Previously, however, to that august ceremony, he received it himself from the hand of Bayard, whom he thus proclaimed, with undisputed judgment, the bravest and most virtuous of men *.

The French army now advanced toward Milan, where the cardinal had retired with his broken forces. Far, however, from allaying the vehemence of his passions, disappointment had served rather to inflame them. But it was in vain for him any longer to preach resistance. The spell of opinion was dissolved, and all it's influence irrecoverably gone. In the bitter language of merited reproach, he was accused with being the author of the public calamity. To him was ascribed the death of their bravest leaders †. To him was imputed a more

* Gaillard, 283.

† On the side of Helvetia many leaders of note were slain, whose names have been rescued from oblivion by national gratitude. In this dignified list, we find Puntiner and Imhoff, both magistrates of Uri; Meiss, Escher,

more irreparable disaster, the loss of honour. "Till lately," exclaimed the indignant bands, "we enjoyed the fame of "courage irresistible. Nor was our punc- "tuality in fulfilling treaties less illustrious. "Our militry character is still unsullied, "but we have exhibited to the world a "frightful picture of rashness, disunion, "and perfidy."

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With such reflections they worked upon each other's feelings till the apostle of discord, trembling for his personal safety, deemed it prudent to retire to the imperial court. Unfortunately however for the tranquillity of Italy, he took the fatal precaution of carrying with him Francis, the younger brother of the reigning duke*. After his departure, the troops directed their march toward Switzerland, having left a garrison in the citadel of Milan†. The acclamations of the multitude no longer

cher, Schwendi, and Keller, of Zuric; Halwyl and Frisching of Berne; Wartz of Unterwalden; and Salis of the Grisons. May, ib. 66.

* May, ib. 67. † Id. ib.

greeted

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greeted their return. Though laden with an abundant spoil, the dejected soldier hung down his head in melancholy silence; for he wanted the inward consolation, by which he had hitherto been supported under every trial, the conscious feeling of having discharged his duty.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Maximilian Sforza resigns his Duchy.---Interview between the Pope and the King of France.---The Swiss conclude a Peace with Francis.---Death of Ferdinand, King of Spain.---Maximilian enters Italy, and besieges Milan.---Insubordination of the Helvetic Troops.---Bourbon recalled, and succeeded by Lautrec.---Death of Maximilian.---The Kings of Spain and France become Candidates for the Imperial Crown. ---Election of Charles.---War in Italy.--- Views and Conduct of Leo.---His Death. ---Adrian raised to the Papal Chair.--- Battle of Bicocca.

UPON the approach of the French, the keys of Milan were delivered into the hands of the king. The citadel however refused to surrender; and it's reduction, it was feared, would have been the labour of several months. Impressed with this idea, the

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the Helvetic diet, upon receiving intelligence of the defeat of their army, voted a levy of forty thousand men*. But the effeminate soul of Sforza was not designed by nature to encounter difficulties. Governed wholly by the superior genius of his chancellor Morone, a man deeply versed in all the arts of intrigue, of boundless ambition, and the most insinuating address, he listened with timid eagerness to the proposals of Bourbon, who undertook the direction of the siege. At the instigation of Morone, who undoubtedly sacrificed to views of private emolument his master's glory, a capitulation was signed within a few days, upon terms as favourable to the king, as his fondest wishes could desire. In consideration of Sforza's renouncing all claims to the duchy of Milan, Francis undertook to pay his debts, granted him a pension of thirty thousand ducats, with an honourable asylum in France, and promised to exert his influence with the pope, in order to procure for him a cardinal's hat†.

* May, IV. 68. † Guicciard. III. 173.

Thus

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Thus fell Maximilian Sforza from the exalted rank of a sovereign, into contempt, dependence, and obscurity. The luxurious indolence of the Roman purple was far more congenial with the depravity of his heart, than the tempestuous dignity of a throne, since it attracted respect without exertion, under the impious aspect of religion, and sanctioned the grossest indulgences of sensuality. He is accordingly said to have expressed the warmest gratitude toward the king, for having delivered him from the arrogance of the Swiss, the indecision of the emperor, and the duplicity of the king of Spain *.

The French having now acquired a decided preponderance in Italy, found themselves universally courted. Such however were the prejudices of the times, that Leo, notwithstanding his shameful duplicity, was instantly reconciled to the victor; and foreseeing all the advantage that must ensue from a personal conference with Fran-

* Guicciard. ib. There is too much wit in the observation for such a man as Sforza.

cis,

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cis, under pretence of settling the general tranquillity of Europe, proposed an interview at Bologna. It would have been more consistent with political dignity (and such was the opinion of most of the cardinals) to have received the illustrious visitant in the capital of the christian world. But the vanity of Leo did not blind his judgment to the danger, which must arise from allowing the French to proceed so far on their way toward Naples; and prudence taught him to sacrifice the punctilios of ecclesiastical pride to the real interests of his country. The grand object of papal policy was, to prevent the French from crossing the Appenines; and in this attempt the pontiff was so far successful, that he extorted a promise from Francis, to suspend till after the death of Ferdinand, his projected invasion of the kingdom of Naples. With this assurance Leo was delighted, as under existing circumstances delay was almost equivalent to victory. Many other points were also left for future discussion, but though they related principally to the concerns of religion,

gion, the vicar general of Christ felt himself less interested in the event, and gladly made partial concessions, in order to escape without material loss*. CHAP. XXVII.

The pride of Helvetia was deeply wounded by her recent disaster; and the different parties indulged, in consequence, in all the violence of popular invective. The cantons, whose deputies had signed the treaty of Galera, loudly accused the democratic states with having being the promoters of the disgraceful war: while the latter retorted by the accusation of cowardice, attributing the fatal issue of the last campaign to their adversaries' abandonment of the common cause†.

Desirous of establishing a solid peace with all the powers of Europe, Francis generously signified to the Helvetic diet, that he was still ready to adhere to the treaty of Galera. This offer produced, in the different cantons, very opposite sensations. By Uri, Zuric, Schweitz, Bâle, and Shaffhausen, it was positively rejected;

* Guicciard. XII. † Mallet, III. 39.

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while in compliance with the wise and moderate counsels of Berne, the remaining states consented to the proposal*.

By this treaty, the Swiss not only acknowledged the claim of Francis to the duchy of Milan, but agreed to evacuate all the fortresses still occupied by their forces in Italy. They further promised to furnish, when required, auxiliary troops, the number of which should be regulated by a future convention†.

In return for these important concessions, each canton was entitled to an annual pension‡. A splendid donation§ was also made to the confederated republic; and Bellinzona ceded in perpetuity to the Swiss. With respect to Lugano, Locarno, and Chiavenna, the Helvetic government was complimented with the option of retaining them, or transferring them to France for an adequate consideration in money‖. Eight only of the cantons at first acceded

* May, IV. 69. † Id. ib.

‡ 2000 livres to each. Id. § 700,000 crowns.

‖ May, IV.

to

to the treaty; but after another fruitless expedition into Italy, the remaining five grew sensible of their folly in rejecting the golden bait*. No sooner had the whole confederacy become parties to the convention, than peace was proclaimed, at Friburg, with extraordinary solemnity†. CHAP. XXVII.

It would have been incompatible with the watchful jealousy of the king of Spain, to have beheld the rapid progress of the French with indifference. All the powers of intrigue were accordingly exerted in forming a confederacy for the protection of Italy. Secret emissaries were dispersed throughout every part of Switzerland, who were indefatigable in their endeavours to rekindle the dormant flame. By every motive, calculated to stimulate the pride and jealousy of the human heart, he endeavoured to engage the fickle tyrant‡, who then swayed the English sceptre, to take

* This treaty is called 'the *Perpetual Peace*,' because it has served as a basis for all subsequent negociations between Switzerland and France. Id. ib.

† Mallet, III. 44.

‡ Henry VIII.

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an active part in the war. While by the irresistible temptation of an ample subsidy he roused the indolent emperor to a sense of danger; not recollecting, that it was perfectly consistent with the principles of Maximilian to accept the bribe, though it would be a wide deviation from his natural inconstancy, were he to attempt by activity to deserve it *.

But before his plans were ripe for execution, Ferdinand fell a sacrifice to his own imprudence. As he advanced in years, his aversion toward Charles, his eldest grandson, is said to have gradually increased. Instead of beholding with proud complacency the growing virtues destined to exalt the Spanish name, and set bounds to the ambition of France, he regarded him only in the light of a rival, who would soon deprive him of the government of Castile. He accordingly gave way to the most immoderate transports, when his queen presented him with a son. Nor was his grief less

* Guicciard. III. 181.

poignant,

poignant, when the favourite infant was snatched away by an untimely death *. CHAP. XXVII.

From his extreme solicitude to have other children, he had recourse to the arts of empirism, in the hope of giving vigour to a constitution debilitated by age and debauchery: hence arose a lingering malady, which baffled professional science, and in a few months brought him to the grave †.

Thus every thing conspired to favour Francis. The abdication of the duke of Milan delivered him from a competitor, who in spite of his profligacy was dangerous. The death of Ferdinand removed a formidable enemy. The Helvetic republics were become friendly to his cause; and even the pope had ceased, at least with open hostility, to give him any opposition. Maximilian, indeed, still continued to wage a languid war against the Venetians, though in actual alliance with France. But a monarch, whose actions are guided

* Robertson's Hist. of Charles V. II. 19.

† Id. ib.

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by no uniform system, cannot long be an object of alarm.

By the assistance of Schinner, who still preserved an extensive influence in the democratic cantons, the emperor levied fourteen thousand Swiss, and having drawn numerous reinforcements from his hereditary states, invaded Italy at their head*.

Unable to contend against so large a force, Bourbon was compelled, after concentrating his troops in the vicinity of Milan, to burn the suburbs, which he was no longer able to defend†. Had Maximilian known how to avail himself of this sudden change of fortune, the French army would, in all probability have been utterly destroyed. But the indecision of his character left the constable leisure to complete his preparations, and thus enabled him to maintain his ground, till the arrival of the Helvetic troops placed him in a situation to resume offensive operations. In fact, however, his prospects were but little improved;

* May, IV. 68. Guicciard. III. 185.

† Gaillard, I. 321.

proved; as his greedy auxiliaries had no sooner received the accustomed donative, than they peremptorily refused to imbrue their hands in the blood of their countrymen*. Apprehensive of the consequences which might ensue, should he attempt by coercive means to enforce obedience, Bourbon embraced a resolution worthy of a hero, and dismissed them with public marks of disapprobation†.

No sooner was Maximilian apprised of their retreat, than he assumed the tone of a conqueror; swearing, in case of farther resistance, to imitate the severity of Frederic I., and efface every vestige of Milan‡. Bourbon, however, not intimidated by the menaces, resolved to defend the city to the last extremity. This resolution, though highly honourable, was perhaps inspired or strengthened by his knowledge of the emperor's distress. A month's arrears were now due to the Helvetic troops, and their patience began to be exhausted. Having in vain applied to the imperial commissa-

* Id. 322. † Id. ib. ‡ Guicciard. ib. 187.

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ries, colonel Stapfer repaired to the emperor's tent, and demanded access to his person. He was told that Maximilian was still in bed. Dissatisfied with the excuse, he insisted upon instant admission, complained bitterly of the unworthy treatment which his countrymen had received, and declared that in case the money due to them was not instantly paid, they would immediately quit the imperial standard. Alarmed at this tone of decision, Maximilian recollected with secret horror the wretched fate of Ludovico Sforza, and endeavoured to appease his importunate visitor, by the most brilliant promises of remuneration. But Stapfer left his tent, alike insensible to his caresses and his offers; adding, that in the event of the smallest delay the army were resolved to accept the proposals of Bourbon, and to enter into the service of France.

Delighted to escape without personal injury, Maximilian sent immediately for the cardinal of Sion, and commisioned him to distribute among the soldiers a few thousand crowns, the poor residium of his exhausted

exhausted exchequer; assuring him, on the word of a prince, that a large sum of money was actually arrived at Trent, and that he was going thither to receive it*. Under the expectation of a speedy reward, the turbulent mercenaries allowed him to depart; and for some days remained patiently in their camp, in anxious hope of his return. Convinced, at length, however, that he had too much prudence to trust himself again in their hands, they raised the siege, and after plundering the adjacent country, regained their native mountains†, announcing the disgraceful issue of their campaign, with dejected countenances and tattered accoutrements.

* Guicciard. III. 187. Gaillard, 325.

† Gaillard, 326. It is matter of astonishment, that notwithstanding such numerous and notorious instances of insubordination and venality, a war no sooner broke out in Europe, than the belligerent powers had instantly recourse to the mercenary magnanimity of the Swiss; whom they subsidised in such powerful bodies, that they were frequently able to dictate laws to their employers, and to enforce obedience to their most extravagant and capricious demands.

Widely

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Widely different was the appearance of those, who had deserted the Gallic standard; as Francis, anxiously desirous to conciliate the good opinion of his new allies, with a generosity bordering on profusion, had given clothing and presents to each. The result of the comparison, in minds of such a sordid constitution, was highly favourable to his interests, and essentially increased his popularity. Eager to improve the impression, he despatched René into Switzerland with unlimited powers of corruption. René was a natural son of the duke of Savoy, and fully enjoyed the royal confidence of the king. There was a time when Helvetic pride would have revolted at the indelicate offer of an undissembled bribe. For so little precaution did the ambassador employ, that he emptied large sacks of money in the streets of Friburg, and publicly distributed it among the people *.

Against a system of negociation so im-

* Mallet, III. 41.

pressive,

pressive, imperial poverty had nothing to oppose. From this time, the popularity of Schinner rapidly declined; and the baron of Supersax experienced little difficulty in procuring his banishment by the *ostracism of the mace*. But his own influence was likewise on the wane. A third party had arisen in Rhætian vallies, to which the cardinal and the baron were equally obnoxious. Having obtained a majority in the magistracy, they determined to deliver their country from it's subjection to men, whose quarrels were subversive of the public tranquillity. The episcopal revenues were, accordingly, sequestered. Nor could the menaces of the imperial court, nor the thunders of the Vatican procure a repeal of the sentence*. The factious legate, however, still braved the indignation of his countrymen; and under the protection of his sacred function, in spite of the neglect and coldness of his former friends, boldly appeared at every diet. Nor was the destiny of Supersax less an object of compassion.

* May, V. 127.

Constrained

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Constrained to fly from the persecution of his enemies, he sought an asylum at Vevais, where he died in poverty and exile*.

1517. The establishment of peace afforded leisure to the pope to attend to the interests of the church, and deliberately to weigh the danger, to which Christendom was exposed from the alarming progress of the Mahomedan arms. How far he was sincere in his design of uniting Europe in defence of the cross, it is difficult now to ascertain. Yet it is by no means easy to believe, that a mind so enlightened, could seriously have cherished the romantic project. It is far more congenial with his character to suppose, that his excessive zeal was the result of policy. The triumphs of Selim afforded a specious pretext to replenish his exhausted coffers, by the pious contributions of the faithful. Convinced, however, that in order to affect others, he must appear deeply affected himself †, for the safety of religion, he instituted fasts, and com-

* Mallet, ib.

† *Si vis me flere dolendum est primum ipsi tibi.* Hor.

manded

manded penances; officiating in person with excessive devotion, and imploring all the powers of heaven and of earth to support the cause of the gospel *. CHAP. XXVII.

Fortune had shown herself an indulgent mistress to Francis, and his conduct had hitherto deserved her favour. But the scene is now about to change, and the reverse became doubly painful, as it arose entirely from his own imprudence. Independently of the claims of birth and fortune, the important services of Bourbon entitled him to the most distinguished marks of royal regard. Unfortunately for the happiness and glory of France, the intrigues of an artful woman outweighed the merits of personal obligation, and procured the hero's recal. Formed by nature to excite universal admiration, he had inspired the duchess of Angoulême with a passion too violent for reason to control. But he remained blind to all her advances. Neglected love was soon converted into

* Guicciardi. III. 252.

——— *furers quid femina posset.*

implacable

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implacable hatred*; and she swore to ruin the man, whose heart was proof against her fading beauty.

Lautrec, who succeeded to the command in Italy, though unquestionably an officer of experience, was more indebted for his promotion to his sister's attractions † than to his own personal merit. Though brave and enterprising in an eminent degree, he was little gifted with those amiable qualities, which find a ready access to the heart. Stern and haughty by nature, he regarded severity as the properest instrument of government, and disdained moderation as a symptom of imbecility.

Though reduced to the rank of a private citizen, the venerable Trivulzi still retained that ascendency over the public mind, which rank and fortune, combined

* Mezerai imputes the disgrace of Bourbon to the jealousy of the king, and says he was recalled *pour avoir trop bien servi*. But the opinion of Gaillard appears to me more probable. I. 351.

† The celebrated Madame de Chateau-Briand. Gaillard, 52.

with

with the splendour of military fame, can hardly fail to bestow. Resolved to get rid of a man, whose magnificence and generosity were the theme of universal applause, Lautrec represented him, in his despatches to the king, as a factious leader, who aspired by every art of popularity, to establish an influence too great for any subject to possess*. CHAP. XXVII.

Trivulzi, who was endowed by nature with the nicest sensibility, having secret intelligence of the governor's design, resolved to justify his conduct in person. In spite of the infirmities of age, he crossed the Alps in the midst of a rigorous winter, and appeared unexpectedly at court, little dreaming that the smiles of a harlot could efface the recollection of long and meritorious service. But the influence of the new favourite was unbounded, and Trivulzi was refused access to the throne. Such unmerited treatment was too much for the high-minded veteran to support. Overwhelmed with fatigue

* Guicciard. III. 256.

and

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and disappointment he died in a few days,* the victim of royal ingratitude.

1519. At a time, when the tranquillity of Europe seemed once more established upon a permanent basis, the political horizon was suddenly obscured. On the fifteenth of January Maximilian terminated his boisterous career. During the latter years of his life, he is said to have expressed the greatest anxiety to secure the imperial diadem to his grandson Charles. But having never been crowned by the pope, he was regarded by the civilians only as *Emperor elect*; and had consequently never been mentioned, in official documents, by a higher title than that of *King of the Romans*. To have elected a successor, under such circumstances, would have been contrary to all former precedents, and there was no misfortune attendant upon a disputed succession, which the German nation would

* Gaillard, ib. 360. His character may be in part collected from his epitaph, *Hic quiescit, qui nunquam quievit.*

not

not readily have braved, rather than have consented to violate the pedantry of forms*.

In the preceding pages the name of Maximilian has so often occurred, that no farther comment can be required to develope his motley character. The following anecdote, however, is not undeserving attention, as it throws a still more intense light upon his inconsistency. After the death of Julius, Maximilian is said to have entertained serious thoughts of succeeding to the papal chair, and with a view of bribing the conclave, to have actually sent secret emissaries to Rome.*

No sooner had the emperor breathed his last than Charles, king of Spain, in opposition to the formidable competition of the French monarch, declared himself a candidate for the vacant throne. It is not our intention minutely to investigate a subject, which comes not within the

* Robertson's Charles, 49.

† Voltaire positively affirms the fact, which is in a great degree confirmed by the authority of Schmidt. Geschichte der Deutschen, xx. 140.

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province of the Helvetic historian. But considering the deep importance of the struggle, and it's fatal consequences, we should not feel ourselves justified in passing it over in silence.

If an hereditary claim can be allowed to avail with respect to an elective crown, Charles had much to allege in his favour; but he wisely preferred to rest his pretensions on the more solid foundation of political expediency. The geographical position of his dominions formed a natural bulwark against the Ottoman arms; nor could any one be so fit to oppose the tremendous torrent rolling from the east, as a prince who united such extensive territories with the precious treasures of the newly discovered world*.

Francis, on the contrary, hoped to dazzle the electors by the brilliancy of his personal exploits. He represented, the alarming danger to which Germany must be exposed, if the reins of government were rashly committed to the hands of an

* Gaillard, II. 18.

unpractised

unpractised youth. To resist the conqueror of Egypt, experience was not less requisite than valour. Nor was a monarch, who had triumphed over Helvetic tactics, an antagonist unworthy of Selim himself*. CHAP. XXVII.

A contest of this nature could not fail to attract the attention of the world. Yet had the nations of Europe entertained an adequate idea of their real interests, they would have concurred by a general combination to defeat the ambitious projects of both. But the balance of power was then so little understood, that instead of contemplating the struggle with eyes of enlightened statesmen, they for the most part beheld it with indifference, as a matter of ordinary curiosity, or suffered themselves to be biassed by the suggestions of interest, or the more pardonable impulses of gratitude.

Ever prone to indulge in the romantic visions of an elevated mind, Francis persuaded himself that the recollection of for-

* Id. ib. Robertson, II. 51.

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mer favours would operate more forcibly on the mind of Leo, than the views of ambition. But the pontiff was so fully convinced, that the success of either of the contending parties would prove equally formidable to the liberties of Italy, that he resolved by secret endeavours, to engage the electors if possible to raise a less powerful prince to the vacant throne*.

Impelled by jealousy of the house of Austria, rather than by motives of attachment toward the king of France, the Venetians espoused the cause of the latter with inconsiderate zeal. Political sagacity ought to have suggested a different system, and taught them to follow the steps of Leo†.

It was a leading maxim of the German princes never to bestow the imperial crown upon a monarch, whose strength might endanger the liberties of his country, or set bounds to their own ambition. It was natu-

* Denina, XXI, 1. Guicciard, III. 262. Schmidt, XI. 25.

† Gaillard, III. 22.

ral

ral therefore to expect, that upon this critical occasion, they would adhere with constancy to their cautious system. They accordingly tendered the imperial crown to Frederic, duke of Saxony, a prince so distinguished for his virtues and talents, that he merited the appellation of 'Sage'. But undazzled by the glare of empire, he modestly declined the splendid offer: exhorting his colleagues, in the electoral college, to bestow their votes upon the king of Spain, who was in consequence chosen emperor*. CHAP. XXVII.

The issue of this important contest operated very differently on the opinions of men, by highly raising the reputation of Charles, and equally depressing that of his royal competitor. With a mixed sentiment of admiration and surprise, they beheld a prince, but just arrived at years of discretion, emerging at once from obscurity, and triumphing over the artifices of a court which had hitherto been unrivalled in the arts of intrigue†. Till now the genius of

* Schmidt, XI. 33. † Gaillard, II. 76.

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Charles was unknown. Accustomed by Chievres to serious studies, he had contracted an habitual gravity, which might easily be mistaken for want of spirit.* The deference also, which he had invariably shewn toward the instructors of his youth, was far from indicating that quickness of apprehension and firmness of decision, which subsequently enabled him to dictate laws to the greater part of Europe. While in Spain the genius of Ximenes, like the effulgence of the meridian sun, overwhelmed the inferior constellations with it's irresistible lustre.†

While Charles thus attracted the applause of his contemporaries, his rival lost ground every day. His fondest admirers retracting their premature encomiums, began to attribute to fortune the successes which they had previously ascribed to his scientific combinations, and to his profound sagacity. Nor can it be denied,

* Robertson, II. 23.

† For the character of Ximenes, see Robertson's Charles V. II. 25, &c.

that

that this censure was in a great measure just, as the contest was managed on the side of Francis with little address. His ambassadors, selected without discernment, owed their appointment to favour, rather than to merit*. A man of extraordinary talents had been offended†, and circumstances the most interesting per-

* Bonnivet, who was equally a favourite with the king and his mistress, on account of his polished manners and elegant wit, was sent sent into Germany; a country where levity passed for presumption, and where the graces were then as little worshipped, as in the frozen deserts of Siberia. D'Orval and Fleuranges were perhaps chosen with greater judgment, but they were much inferior in the arts of negociation to cardinal Gourch, and the count of Nassau. Gaillard, II. 19.

† Seckinghen had acquired an unbounded influence in many of the German courts, by the ascendancy of superior genius and talents eminently calculated for intrigue. After the death of Maximilian, he offered his services to Francis, who received him with kindness, and loaded him with favours, but seems to have regarded him in no other light than that of an amiable companion. Seckinghen, who aspired to a more dignified character, grew sick of the frivolity of the French court, and quitting Paris in disgust, attached himself sincerely to the Spanish monarch, whom he essentially served during the contest. Gaillard, ib. 61.

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mitted to escape. The conduct of Charles, on the contrary, displayed consummate prudence, deep penetration, and a thorough knowledge of mankind.

Although both monarchs affected to disclaim every idea of personal animosity, it was easy to foresee that a spirit of resignation was totally inconsistent with those violent passions, which are natural to youth and ambition. Francis indeed declared, with characteristic gaiety, that they were both paying their addresses to the same mistress, and ought to remain satisfied with her decision.* Yet no sooner was the choice of the electors made known, than he gave unbounded vent to his feelings. Exclusively however of those, which we have already enumerated, there existed between the rival kings so many other subjects of dispute, that it would have been difficult for them to have avoided a rupture. The thrones of Naples and Milan afforded an ample field for discussion, while Bur-

* Gaillard, II. 17.

gundy

gundy alone would have sufficed to light up the flame of war. CHAP. XXVII.

To have assumed the part of mediator, inculcating moderation and mutual forgiveness, was an office becoming the common father of the christian world. But Leo, who was desirous to signalise his reign by some brilliant exploit, would never abandon the chimerical project of rescuing Italy from a foreign yoke. With this view, he embraced the fatal resolution of fomenting the quarrel between Francis and Charles; vainly flattering himself that amidst the storms of war, he might be permitted to steer a middle course, till he should be ultimately enabled from their common exhaustion, to expel them both.* For some time, he appeared undecided which party to espouse, and actually carried on a secret negociation with both. At one moment he actually concluded a treaty with Francis, and even

* Guicciardini declares expressly, that he gives this account of the projects of Leo, on the authority of the cardinal de Medici, who was afterward pope under the title of Clement VII. III. 284.

went

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went so far as to subsidise six thousand Swiss, to be employed in the conquest of Naples.* Shortly afterward however, he abandoned this engagement, and entered into a defensive alliance with the Spanish court; for the avowed purpose of driving the French out of the Milanese.

It was impossible for a project of this nature to remain long concealed. Francis was apprised of the plot before it was ripe for execution, and resolving for once to be before-hand with his rival, he suddenly invaded Navarre. His army, under Lesparre, the brother of Lautrec, overran the whole kingdom in a few weeks, without experiencing the least opposition.†

This

* Id. 285.

† This expedition is remarkable for an event, which gave rise to the order of the Jesuits. Ignatius Loyola, a gentleman of the province of Biscay, being wounded at the siege of Pampeluna, endeavoured to beguile the tedious hours of confinement by reading 'the *Lives of the Saints.*' On a mind naturally enthusiastic, and addicted to romantic pursuits, such a course of study was calculated to produce the most singular effects. Loyola was inflamed with the eccentric ambition of signalising his name by

This aggression was the signal for hostilities, and both monarchs began accordingly to prepare with activity for the awful contest. Determined to open the campaign with vigour, Francis assembled four armies. The duke of Alençon assumed the command in Champagne; the duke of Vendôme in Picardy; Bonnivet in Guienne; and Lautrec in Italy. By this arrangement, he gratified the vanity of the princes of the blood, indulged his own partiality toward an amiable friend, and paid court to his mistress by the elevation of her brother.

For the defence of Milan, he seems to

by adventures similar to those of which he read. Led on by this wild idea, he resolved to found a religious order, and thus originated that wonderful institution, so memorable for it's talents, it's ambition, and it's crimes. The *Society of Jesus*, as it was emphatically called, is equally worthy of admiration, whether we contemplate the vast extent of it's political influence, it's regulations for the instruction of youth, or the unbounded empire, which it finally acquired over the minds and passions of mankind. This order may justly be regarded as the firmest pillar of the Romish church. The whole fabric tottered from the very moment, in which the Jesuits ceased to exist.

have

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have trusted chiefly to Helvetic valour. Eager to overcome every obstacle, which prudence or patriotism could throw in his way, he readily consented to every demand of the diet, and having generously enlarged the pensions and subsidies of the Swiss, he obtained permission to raise sixteen thousand men.*

Notwithstanding the intrigues and opposition of the imperial court, all the cantons, with the exception of Zuric, acceded to the convention with France.† But the impressive eloquence of the celebrated Zuinglius triumphed over all the arts of corruption, and opened the eyes of his fellow-citizens to the guilt which they incurred by their disgraceful traffic in human blood.‡ When solicited by their co-estates not to reject an alliance, which opposed an insuperable barrier to the ambition of Austria, they replied with noble disdain, "That it would have been "more consistent with the dignity of an

* Mallet, III. 57. † Id. ib. ‡ Id. ib.

"independent

" independent nation, had they invariably
" pursued the same line of conduct now
" recommended by Zuric. For the riches,
" acquired by mercenary service, could
" never be productive of solid advantage.
" It had been said, that foreign alliances
" were requisite for the safety of Switzer-
" land; but this was a position, which
" they could never admit. On the con-
" trary, they were persuaded that the cou-
" rage and activity of their youth was a
" more permanent source of security.
" Whoever should dare to invade the Hel-
" vetic territory, in the fate of the duke
" of Burgundy, might read his own.
" That they were richer than their an-
" cestors, it was impossible to deny; but
" was happiness always the concomitant
" of wealth? Economy and industry were
" irrecoverably lost; and with them had
" vanished all those simple pleasures,
" which are the offspring of innocence.
" Pride, profligacy, and avarice, marched
" in the train of Victory, and sullied the
" laurels which she bestowed." Such was
the

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the language of the reformers, and such the lesson which they taught!*

Notwithstanding the apparent union, which now prevailed, no real harmony subsisted among the Helvetic states. In the course of the negociation with France, an indiscreet partiality had distinguished those cantons, which espoused her interests with the greatest zeal. Of this the vigilance of Schinner did not fail to take advantage; and, accordingly, he persuaded the forest-cantons to connive at a levy of twelve thousand men, for the service of the pope.†

In most of the preceding conventions with France, it had been stipulated, that the Swiss should not be employed against the imperial or pontifical armies. But the crisis was now arrived, when they were compelled to decide between those contending interests; for of neutrality they do not appear to have entertained a thought. This, though the obvious dictate of moral

* Id. ib.

† May reduces the number to 10,000. V. 132.

prudence, would have destroyed the most productive branch of their commerce.

* Under the administration of Lautrec, the French government became every day more unpopular, as his over-bearing temper was equally incapable of brooking contradiction, or of listening to advice. His love of money, and his love of fame, were constantly at variance.† Morone beheld the errors of the French with secret exultation, and thought the moment propitious to strike a decisive blow. Having penetrated the designs of Leo, he proposed a plan for recovering several towns in Lombardy, by the co-operation of the exiled nobles, who declared themselves ready to take up arms in defence of Sforza.‡ Seduced by the flattering prospect, the pope engaged too hastily in the cause; and even after the plot had miscarried, afforded an asylum to the male-contents. This was regarded by the French commander as equivalent to a declaration

* Gaillard, II. 202. † Guicciard. XIV.

‡ Robertson, II. 140.

of

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of war; and he accordingly laid siege to Reggio. Delighted at finding an excuse for perfidy, Leo instantly threw off the mask, and published the treaty which he had lately concluded with the imperial court.*

The auxiliary Swiss having joined the papal standard, Leo also resolved to take the field. The chief command was conferred upon Prospero Colonna, a man eminently gifted with every quality to oppose the impetuosity of France. The Spanish forces were headed by the marquis of Pescara, and Antonio di Leyva, names ever memorable in the annals of war.†

On receiving intelligence of the enemy's motions, Francis ordered Lautrec to join the army without loss of time. But the marshal, who was intimately acquainted with the vindictive spirit of the duchess of Angoulême, and knew that she was capable of sacrificing the dearest interests of the state to the gratification of private hatred, positively refused to leave Paris, unless a

* Guicciard. ib. † Id. ib. Gaillard, II. 230.

sufficient

sufficient sum was previously deposited for the maintenance of the troops*. CHAP. XXVII.

Desirous of procuring the command of the Italian army for her illegitimate brother,† Louisa determined to accomplish the ruin of Lautrec even by the loss of Lombardy. She accordingly united with the king in a solemn promise, that the money should be immediately remitted to Milan. Lautrec now consented to depart; but no sooner was he gone than compelling Semblançay to forfeit his word, the perfidious princess appropriated the money to her own private use.‡

Lautrec felt the disappointment with the keenest sensibility, and resolved to revenge himself as a soldier ought, by convincing the world that he deserved a better fate. Though greatly inferior to the enemy in numbers, he obstructed their progress by

* Gaillard, ib. 233.

† The bastard of Savoy. Id. ib.

‡ There is no action, in the reign of Francis, more difficult to justify, than his treatment of the virtuous Semblançay. Vide Gaillard, ib. 459, where the whole of this infamous transaction is described in appropriate colours.

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skilful manœuvres, without hazarding a general engagement; intercepting convoys, and cutting off detachments, while by promises and flattery he prevented the desertion of the Swiss*. At length, however, an event took place, which disconcerted all his projects, and annihilated every hope of successful resistance.

The Helvetic government observing with indignation, that in defiance of the most rigorous decrees, their subjects were serving in both armies, despatched couriers to Italy, with peremptory orders for all the Swiss to return immediately, under pain of death†.

Being previously informed of this design, the cardinal of Sion contrived means to frustrate its execution. Having corrupted the messengers by an ample bribe, he procured the suppression of the order directed to the imperial army; while that, intended for the auxiliaries of France, was enforced by the strongest exhortations.‡.

* Guicciard, ib. passim. † May, V. 136.

‡ Gaillard, II. 261. May, as usual, attempts to defend the Helvetic character, though with little success. ib. 137.

Disgusted

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Disgusted at the irregularity with which they were paid, the troops readily abandoned a camp, where nothing but honour was to be gained. A few companies of Bernese militia, however, still remained faithful to Lautrec, under the command of Albert de Stein, one of the bravest officers in the Helvetic service.

The Swiss historians endeavour to palliate the misconduct of their countrymen, by magnifying the hardships to which they were exposed. They also boldly assert, that in conformity to the orders of the diet, the troops returned to Switzerland*. The French, on the other hand, maintain, that after deserting the standard of Lautrec, they were persuaded by Schinner to enter into the service of the pope†. Neither assertion in all probability, is perfectly correct. It is far more likely that many should have conformed to the commands of their magistrates, while many allured by the brilliant proposals of Schinner, en-

* Mallet, III. 60. May, V. 138.

† Gaillard, II. 262. Perè Daniel calls the conduct of the Swiss *une lâche trahison.*

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rolled themselves under the banners of Rome.

In either case, the situation of Lautrec was almost equally desperate; so that nothing was left for him, except to shut himself up in Milan, till he could receive reinforcements from France.*.

While Colonna lay before that city, uncertain what course to pursue, an event, which superstition did not fail to ascribe to supernatural agency, but in which the philosopher discovers only the agency of human cunning, decided it's fate. A stranger, disguised under a fantastic garb, appeared to Morone in his tent, at an hour when the silence of the night might inspire terror into a credulous mind. With prophetic mystery it assured him, that if a strong detachment presented itself before the Roman gate, on the following evening, it would spontaneously open for their reception†.

The enlightened mind of Morone was

* Gaillard, II. 264.

† Gaillard, ib. 264. The same story is told by Guicciardini, though with some variations. III. 333.

not formed to be duped by the bold im- CHAP. XXVII.
posture. He knew, however, that to verify a prediction, no method is so certain as to appear to believe it. He accordingly affected implicit faith, and repeated the story with a well-dissembled confidence, which failed not to procure it a favourable reception. Even Colonna himself was so far persuaded, that he allowed Pescara to make the attempt. The enterprise was conducted with secrecy, and crowned with complete success*. The French were surprised in their beds, and had scarcely time to save themselves by a precipitate flight†. The prudence of Lautrec again preserved the army. After retiring into the Venetian territory, he despatched his brother to Paris to solicit supplies of men and money.

Meanwhile Francis abandoned himself

* From our knowledge of Morone's character, it is far from being improbable, that the whole was his own invention, and that the apparition was introduced for the express purpose of inducing Colonna, (naturally indecisive and perhaps a little credulous) to attempt an enterprise of apparent temerity.

† Gaillard, II. 265.

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to all the gaiety and dissipation of a voluptuous court, rushing from pleasure to pleasure, as if the world afforded no occupation worthy of a royal mind, beyond that of successful love. But at a moment when destruction, like an electric cloud, hung over the the Italian army, the death of Leo, who was cut off suddenly in the prime of life, dispersed the gathering storm. Deeply interested in the success of a war, upon which the fortunes of his family seemed entirely to depend, he had given way to the most extravagant joy, upon receiving intelligence of the capture of Parma and Placentia. These violent transports were followed by a slight fever, which was rendered fatal by unskilful treatment*.

This event was of infinite importance to all the belligerent powers. He was the soul of the confederacy, and with him expired that spirit, which had infused vigour and activity into the whole mass. Uncertain to whom they were henceforth to

* Gaillard, II. 265.

look

look for pay, and unaccustomed to gratuitous exertion, the Swiss immediately quitted the imperial camp. The cardinals of Medici and Sion also departed for Rome, to be present at the approaching conclave*. So that the hopes of the imperialists rested solely upon the Spanish and German troops, who served under the orders of Pescara†. CHAP. XXVII.

The eyes of every statesman were now directed toward the proceedings of the conclave, whose decision was likely to prove so important to the general interests of Europe. With a prudence unusual in the flower of age, Leo had neglected no precaution in order to secure the reversionary tiara to his nephew Julio de Medici. Political sagacity indeed, and

* "Mori," says Guicciardini, "non senza sospetto di veleno, datogli da Bernabo Malaspina, suo camæriere, il quale, se bene fosse incarcerato per questa sospizione, non furicercata più oltre la cosa; perchè il cardinale dei Medici lo fece liberare, per non avere occasione di contrarre maggior inimicizia col rè di Francia, per opera di chi si mormorava, Bernabò avergli dato il veleno." III. 337.

† Ib. p. 338.

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unbounded wealth, combined with early habits of business in the most intricate negotiations, concurred to recommend him as the fittest person to succeed to the vacant chair*. But his youth was considered as an insuperable objection by most of the cardinals, whose prospects of greatness would be for ever intercepted by the creation of another pontiff in the prime of life.†

The elevation of Adrian to the papal throne was an event so unlooked for by the world, that even the perspicuity of Guicciardini was totally unable to discern it's motives; although his enlightened mind compelled him to reject the popular opinion, which ascribed the venality of a profligate synod to the immediate inspiration of the Holy Spirit‡.

Great was the astonishment of the christian world, and still greater the fury of the Roman people, when they heard that

* See Guicciard. III. 351.

† The intrigues of the conclave are fully developed by the sagacious pen of Guicciardini. Ib.

‡ Id. ib. 353.

the

the choice had fallen upon an obscure stranger, totally unacquainted with the language, the manners, and the interests of the country, which he was so unexpectedly elected to govern*. Ashamed at what they had done, the cardinals, when assailed by the reproaches of an indignant populace, thought it safest to attribute their own infatuation to a supernatural impulse from above†. But it was by the zeal, the perseverance, and the address of Don Juan Manuel, the Spanish ambassador, that this extraordinary miracle was performed‡. CHAP. XXVII.

The issue of this election was so highly important to the interests of France, that a prince endowed with common prudence would have exerted all the arts of intrigue, in order to determine it in favour of a person, devoted to him by the powerful ties of gratitude and terror. Yet so indifferent

* Denina, xxi. 2.

† "You are infinitely kinder to us," than we deserve," said the cardinal Gonzaga to the angry mob, "to confine yourselves to simple abuse, for to confess the truth, we richly deserve to be stoned." Gaillard, II. 281.

‡ Denina seems to lean toward this opinion. xxi. 2.

was

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was Francis to the most momentous concerns, or so totally absorbed in the pursuit of pleasure, that he scarcely possessed the smallest influence in the sacred college. Even the French cardinals were so unaccountably remiss upon the occasion, that on reaching the frontiers of Italy, the preceptor of Charles was announced to them as already pope*.

Severely mortified at the superiority which his rival had obtained, Francis hoped, by the lustre of his arms, to renew his tarnished honour. For this purpose he sent Chabannes and Montmorency to the Helvetic diet, to solicit fresh and more numerous supplies of troops. Anxious to atone for the injury which he had so recently sustained from the defection of their countrymen, the senate of Berne not only acceded to every demand, but even procured the concurrence of the other cantons, for an extraordinary levy of sixteen thousand men †. The Venetians likewise, whose fluctuating politics were ever governed by

* Gaillard, ib. 283. † Mallet, III. 63.

the

the decisions of fortune, prepared for fresh exertions in his support *. CHAP. XXVII.

The condition of the imperialists grew more desperate every day. Neither the sagacity of Colonna, nor the artifices of Morone, though powerfully seconded by the enthusiastic eloquence of Ferrara †, could enable them any longer to make head against the enemy. After a variety of marches and counter-marches, which raised the reputation of Colonna to the highest pitch of military fame, he encamped at Bicocca, within a few miles of Milan. Although this position was so strongly fortified, that it seemed secure against every attack; yet the want of provisions must soon have compelled him to quit it, had he not been extricated from all his difficulties by the caprice and indocility of the Swiss.

Scarcely had the new levies from Helvetia joined the French standard, than they became so clamorous for pay, that much

* Gaillard, II. 285.

† A bold and insinuating monk, employed by Morone, with surprising success, to animate the populace against the French. Guicciard. III. 357.

address

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address was required to prevent a mutiny. But the prospect at length began to brighten, and Lautrec heard with infinite satisfaction, that a sum was actually arrived at Arona, for the use of the army; though it was prevented from reaching the camp by a detachment of the enemy, which occupied Sesto. Determined at all events to dislodge the imperialists, he was occupied in plans for effecting it, when he was suddenly interrupted by a Swiss officer, who came to inform him, that the patience of his countrymen was completely exhausted; and if the arrears were not discharged in the course of the day, they firmly resolved to abandon the camp on the following morning. Apprehensive, however, that this sudden change might be imputed to dishonourable motives, "they were still de-
"sirous (he added) of proving to the world,
"that this decision did not arise from the
"dread of an enemy, whom they had so
"often defeated; but was inspired solely
"by the hardships which they endured
"from want of the common necessaries of
"life. If," continued he, "you feel dis-

posed

" posed to attack the enemy in their in- CHAP.
" trenchments, the Swiss are ready to se- XXVII.
" cond the attempt, and court the post of
" danger: but we are resolved no longer to
" remain inactive. Unless we are con-
" ducted, at the dawn of day, to storm the
" imperial camp, no power on earth shall
" detain us in your's *."

In vain did Lautrec expatiate on the temerity of the attempt. In vain did he show that the post of Sesto might be easily forced, and a communication opened with the military chest. All arguments addressed to a man who was previously resolved not to listen to reason, were equally ineffectual. The reply was comprized, with laconic insolence, in three words, " Pay, Combat, or Secession†."

In a dilemma like this, it is easy to anticipate the decision of Lautrec. The defection of the Helvetic troops, he too well knew, would prove scarcely less fatal to

* Mallet, III. 65. May (V. 151.) endeavours to soften, though he is forced to admit, the fact.

† Mallet, ib. 66.

him

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him than a defeat. Though his admirers are forced to acknowledge that prudence was the least conspicuous quality which he possessed; yet his enemies allow him, upon the present occasion, to have displayed the talents of a consummate general *. It must be remembered also, that he was not permitted to follow his own inclinations; but was constrained to adopt a plan, which he knew to be hazardous in the extreme. He now sent the Helvetic commanders to reconnoitre the imperial camp; flattering himself, that a nearer inspection of the dangers which it presented, might induce them to abandon the perilous enterprise. But every warning was rejected with presumptuous obstinacy †.

The army was divided into three columns. One of which, consisting entirely of French, and commanded by marshal de Foix, was destined to attack a bridge, by which alone it was possible to penetrate the formidable line. In order to distract the attention of the enemy, Montmorency

* May, V. 152. † Gaillard, II. 312.

undertook to storm the works, on the opposite side, at the head of eight thousand Swiss. It was a service of the greatest danger, and was with justice allotted to those, whose indocility rendered it necessary. Meanwhile, Lautrec, with the main body, resolved to be guided entirely by events, either in supporting the other columns, or in assailing the camp in a different quarter*.

To this admirable plan, which has received the approbation of the profoundest tacticians, Colonna opposed the strength of his position; and having lined the works with his bravest soldiers, awaited the event in security.

It requires not the aid of military study to discover, that the success of the enterprise depended chiefly upon the exact coincidence of the two different attacks, which could hardly fail to create confusion, and might eventually lead to victory.

Arrived at his allotted station, Montmorency waited in awful suspence for the ap-

* Gaillard, ib. 314.

pointed

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pointed signal. But so uncontrolable was the impetuosity of the Swiss, that they rushed spontaneously toward the intrenchments, without expecting the word of command. It was in vain for the general to oppose the torrent. His orders were disregarded, and he was himself hurried away by their impetuosity *.

Thus in a single moment were the plans of Lautrec completely frustrated. Exposed to the enemy's batteries, without the smallest covering, whole ranks were mowed down at every discharge. No losses, however, could intimidate the Swiss. They rushed into the ditch. They attempted to scale the wall. But to their consternation they found that they could barely reach the summit of the ramparts with their protended pikes. Despair added energy to their efforts. With shouts and imprecations they leaped at the wall, clinging to it with an heroic prodigality of life †. At

* May, V. 157.

† Arnold de Winkelried and Albert de Stein, two of their bravest chiefs, were among the slain. May, ib. 160.

length

length, after the loss of three thousand men, a retreat was sounded; and the Swiss retired in mournful silence, ashamed of their ineffectual presumption. CHAP. XXVII.

Meanwhile de Foix, by prodigies of valour, had carried the bridge, and established himself within the enemy's works. Lautrec flew to his assistance, having previously sent to the Helvetic commanders, requesting them to detach a few battalions to support the attack. But such was his unfortunate destiny, on that memorable day, that the impatience, or inaction of his auxiliaries, was equally fatal. No persuasions could now induce them to move. They had been once repulsed, and pride would not suffer them to believe, that any exertions were able to accomplish, what they had already attempted in vain.

The situation of de Foix was now highly critical. The indocility of the Swiss had left Colonna at liberty to draw all his forces to one quarter; and under such circumstances a retreat was attended with imminent danger.

The event of the battle however so far

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surpassed the most sanguine expectations which Lautrec had formed, that he proposed to the Swiss to renew the combat*. Nor was this decision the result of temerity, or of despair; it was founded on practical experiment, and confirmed by scientific calculations. He plainly saw, that the failure was occasioned by the cowardice of the Venetians†, and the unconquerable obstinacy of the Swiss; and had every reason to believe, that if he had been properly seconded, the imperial camp might have been forced.

But no intreaties could induce the Swiss to delay their departure, and on the ensuing morning they began their march. Their behaviour upon this occasion, is highly reprehensible, and clearly proves that personal bravery, though an essential quality, is not the only one necessary for a soldier.

* Gaillard, ib. 325. Du Bellay, II.

† May attributes this conduct to the secret orders of the senate, who had already determined to abandon Francis: V. 158.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

The Rise and Progress of the Reformation.

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THERE is scarcely any occurrence, in the vicissitudes of human affairs, more calculated than the Reformation, to awaken reflection in an enlightened mind. Whether we contemplate it under a moral, a political, or a religious point of view, we shall find that it has been productive of greater benefit to mankind, than any event since the first establishment of christianity; and it is for this reason, that we feel ourselves called upon to examine the subject with serious attention.

The rigid pedantry of professional criticism may possibly deem this discussion episodical, but to us it appears indispensable. To give any tolerable degree of interest to the transactions of a people so inconsiderable as the Alpine peasants, it becomes requisite to introduce surrounding

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nations upon the scene of action, and to describe their wars and their negociations, their quarrels and their intrigues. The narrative must otherwise assume the dry character of annals, and forfeit every claim to entertainment, after the brilliant period of Helvetic emancipation.

It is unnecessary to recur to a supernatural exertion of divine power, in order to explain the rapid success of the reformers, in combating the abuses of the church of Rome; since in those very abuses we find it's satisfactory solution.

The reader is already acquainted with the ineffectual struggles of Wicliffe and Huss, in the cause of truth. He has seen also the unavailing efforts of successive councils to introduce a more rational system of worship, and to purify religion from the pollution of men. From these inquiries it appeared, that the papal power, like the fabled strength of Anteus, arose more formidable from every attack.

Far from ameliorating the system which had roused the indignation of the christian world, or endeavouring to appease the murmurs

murmurs of mankind by a more rigid adherence to the rules of morality, the successor of the apostles seemed "to glory in his shame," and to aspire to celebrity by a pre-eminence in vice. Under the licentious pontificate of Alexander VI. Rome presented a scene of debauchery and perfidy, of irreligion and cruelty, unequalled in the annals of human depravity, since the days of Domitian and Elagabalus. Though distinguished by many great and splendid qualities, Julius II. was little calculated to inspire veneration in the indifferent, or to conciliate the pious. The elegant and voluptuous Leo revived the brilliant era of Augustus, but with it revived all the sensual refinements of that polished court. CHAP. XXVIII.

It was neither to the bold invectives of Luther, to the insinuating eloquence of Melancthon, nor to the rigid and gloomy genius of Calvin, that the success of the Reformation ought solely to be ascribed. It was the simony, the profligacy, and the ambition of the Vatican, that undermined the stately fabric of superstition, and sapped the foundation upon which it had

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rested for ages*. With an eye of envy and indignation, enlightened wisdom beheld the profusion of the monastic orders, so contrary to their own professions, and to the benignant views of their founders. Humanity revolted at the barbarous executions, which were daily ordered by the Inquisition, whose leading object was to silence the voice of reason, that it might safely tyrannise over opinion, continually feeding the GOD OF CHARITY with a copious effusion of human blood.

Various other causes combined to give to the doctrine of the Reformers unbounded popularity. Since Italy had become the theatre of war, all the nations of Europe were better acquainted with the internal mechanism of the pontifical government. Till now, they had viewed the stupendous machine at an awful distance. But the fascinating charm had dissolved under closer inspection, and the gigantic monster dis-

* *Non vindex cum inermi provinciâ,* says Galba speaking of Nero, *aut ego cum unâ legione, sed sua immanitas, sua luxuria cervicibus publicis depulêre.* Tac. Hist. i. 16.

played

played in it's real form, and presented to the astonished spectator a disgusting compound of pride, ambition, fraud, avarice, and hypocrisy. CHAP. XXVIII.

Nor was this important discovery exclusively confined to those who made it. The invention of printing soon spread their complaints and invectives throughout every quarter of the civilised globe, tearing away the magical veil which had so long shrouded the mysteries of Rome.

The prevailing cry of christendom was in favour of a reform. The councils of Constance, Bâle, and Pisa called loudly for the correction of ecclesiastical abuses, but the attempt was too repugnant to the interests of the higher clergy, to be suffered to proceed*.

It

* Æneas Sylvius has preserved a letter, written by cardinal Cesarini to Eugenius IV.; in which he foretels the dangers that threaten the church, unless she complies with the wishes of the world, and consents to amend the ecclesiastical discipline. "They will attack us," says that enlightened prelate, "with the fury of the Hussites, when "they discover that their hopes are frustrated, and that "our promises of amelioration were intended only to de-

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It would be deceiving ourselves to suppose that the Reformation arose from a preconcerted scheme of improvement; or that it was the work of philosophers deliberately examining the errors and disorders, which had gradually crept into the christian church, and endeavouring to correct them by salutary institutions. Although the boldest champion that ever wielded the pen of controversy, Luther, when first he ventured to censure the sale of indulgences, entertained no idea of the lengths to which, in the heat of polemical disputation, he was subsequently hurried; and in all probability, would at that time have regarded many tenets as heretical, which he afterward inculcated with so much fervour and effect.

Animated with the meritorious wish of

" ceive. - - - - The axe is already laid to the root, and the " tree begins to totter. Yet, instead of supporting it as " we ought, we ourselves assist to hasten it's fall. - - - - " God has rendered us blind to the peril which surrounds " us, as he is wont to do those, whose destruction is re- " solved." Gaillard, VI. 144.

Quos Deus vult perdere dementat.

immortalising

immortalising his reign by works of lasting magnificence, Julius II. conceived the proud design of erecting a temple to the Almighty, which should vie with the most splendid monuments of pagan architecture *. The views of his successor were, in a great measure, analogous to his own. An unbounded admiration for the fine arts induced Leo to continue the stupendous fabric with increasing profusion. But the expenses of the undertaking far exceeded the revenues of the holy see, when administered by a prince so magnificent. Hence every invention that priestcraft could devise, or superstition swallow, was employed in extorting supplies from the credulity of

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* In Duppa's Michael Angelo it is related, that the original object, upon which Julius employed that illustrious artist, was a mausoleum; that the plan, too magnificent for the old church of St. Peter, involved the necessity of a new one; that to defray the expences of this enlarged project, *indulgences* were sold in great profusion; that thus, by a just fatality, superstition received it's deadliest blow from the very attempt to give it a wider extension; and that M. Angelo unconsciously, by the grandeur of his primary design, laid the first stone of the Reformation.

CHAP. XXVIII. mankind, of which none was more productive than the *sale of indulgences*.

It was a received opinion, with the church of Rome, that there actually existed an immense treasure, composed of the accumulated virtues of the saints and martyrs, beyond what had been necessary for their own salvation. This stock, which had been amassing for ages, was placed at the disposal of the sovereign pontiff, to be dispensed by him for the benefit of mankind. Whoever purchased a share, was not only enabled to efface the stain of his own transgressions, but might transfer the surplus (if such remained) to the account of any friend or relation, whom he was desirous of rescuing from the torments of purgatory*.

That a doctrine, so repugnant to common sense, should have found access to the human mind, seems almost incredible to us, who live in a more enlightened period, and enjoy many advantages, which were then either entirely unknown, or confined to

* Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, by Maclaine, III. 68.

a fa-

a favoured few. But when artifice had once succeeded in giving currency to the bold imposture, it was natural that the traffic should prove highly lucrative. The first mention made of indulgences, is in the reign of Urban II. toward the close of the eleventh century; when they were conferred upon those, who embarked in the chimerical project of delivering Jerusalem from the Mahomedan yoke*. For some years, they were reserved exclusively for the crusaders; but in process of time, they were extended to persons of every description, who rendered meritorious service to the see of Rome †.

* Mosheim, ib. 85.

† Bembo informs us, in his History of Venice, that in order to enable that republic to wage war against the Turks, Alexander VI. granted them a bull, by which they were empowered to receive "all the sacred money expended by their subjects, to obtain remission from the pains of hell," i. e. the produce of indulgences. In proof of the devotion, or the folly, of his countrymen, he farther adds, that the sum raised by this pious fraud amounted to seven hundred and ninety pounds weight of gold. An enormous sum! considering the scarcity of money, and the value of the commodity for which it was paid. Jortin's Life of Erasmus, I. 106. 8vo edit.

The

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The erection of a temple in honour of the prince of the apostles, was considered as a sufficient motive for opening the celestial bank, and doling out it's precious contents with unlimited profusion. Had Leo been satisfied to keep within the boundary of former precedents, it is possible that Rome might long have continued to insult with impunity the understandings of mankind. But the mode of commerce adopted was, if possible, still more offensive than the commerce itself*. Instead of being applied to the purposes, for which they were professedly designed, a large share of the profits was made over by the pope to his sister, the princess Cibo; the whole management of the sale being entrusted to a company of merchants, who

* It is not easy for any one, who is acquainted with the character of Leo, to suppose that he could give credit to the numerous absurdities, which he was officially compelled to inculcate, as head of the Romish church. It is therefore less surprising, that he should have appropriated to pleasure those funds, which the most pious of his predecessors never scrupled to use, when prompted to it by convenience. Hume's Hist. England, xxix.

contracted

contracted for the produce at a liberal price, and were left at liberty to make the most of their speculation. Itinerant preachers were accordingly sent into all parts of Europe, to enhance the value of their sacred wares, with all the exaggerating impudence of spiritual quackery *.

The elector of Mentz received a commission for the sale of indulgences in Germany, and was to retain a part of the profits for his trouble. Little scrupulous about the means when the accumulation of riches was in view, he selected Tetzel†, a Dominican friar, for his principal agent; a man of profligate morals, but possessing an intrepid character, an active mind, and a bold and popular eloquence. In the execution of this commission, he was assisted by the monks of his order, whose licentious behaviour was scarcely less disgusting to men of sense and piety, than the absurdity of the doctrines which they taught; as many of them squandered in taverns and brothels the pittance which superstition

* Mosheim, IV. 30. † Id ib.

had

CHAP. XXVIII. had wrung from poverty, for the purchase of eternal salvation*.

Scandalous as this traffic must necessarily have appeared to every unprejudiced eye†, it might have continued in defiance of reason, had there not existed in the north of Germany a man designed by nature for the arduous duties of a reformer. Martin Luther was born at Eisleben, a small town in Saxony. Though of humble extraction, he had received, what was then called, a learned education, and gave early marks of a sagacious and penetrating genius. With a lively imagination he combined a mind prone to devotion, and deeply tinctured with melancholy‡. Unconscious of his future celebrity, and delighted with

* Mosheim, ib. 33.

† John Giglis, an Italian, who was promoted to the see of Worcester in 1497, was invested by the pope with unlimited powers to "pardon every species of crime, and to grant permission to any person to detain the property of another, without even inquiring by what right he acquired it, provided a certain portion of the plunder was ceded to the papal commissioners." Jortin's Erasmus, 108.

‡ Robertson's Charles V. II. 82.

the

the solitude of a monastic life, he assumed the habit of St. Augustin, in a convent at Erfurt; where he was quickly distinguished for his regularity, his fervour, and his insatiable thirst after knowledge. Having passed through all the gradations of theological study, he still felt dissatisfied with his acquirements, and panted after something more substantial, than what was usually taught under the title of 'Scholastic Philosophy.' Impelled by the love of science, he was one day rummaging the library, when he accidentally stumbled on a copy of the Bible, which had long lain neglected on it's shelf*. Abandoning every other pursuit, he applied himself to it's perusal with diligence so unremitting, as to excite the astonishment of his brother-students, who never dreamt of consulting

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* The following anecdote, recorded by the learned Jortin, in his life of Erasmus, may convey some faint idea of the degraded state of monkish literature. After the Lutheran controversy had been carried on for some time, a Scottish friar accused Luther of being the author of "a profane and heretical book, called THE NEW TESTAMENT!" I. 118.

the

CHAP. XXVIII. the word of God, as the foundation of their religious tenets*.

It must not, however, be supposed that Luther was totally exempt from the prejudices of his age. On the contrary, he ascribed an influence, almost unbounded, to the devil, and imputed solely to his powerful machinations the opposition made to the reformation.† He is said also to have firmly believed in apparitions, and other supernatural appearances, of which he gives very extraordinary accounts‡. He supposed madmen and idiots to be possessed by evil spirits, and quarrelled with the physicians for ascribing those maladies to natural causes.§

The reputation, which he had acquired for piety and learning, reached the ears of the elector of Saxony, and induced that prince to appoint him to a professor's chair in the university of Wittemberg, where he soon became the delight and the oracle of that learned society.‖

* Robertson's Charles V. ib. 82.

† Jortin's Erasmus, ib. 110. ‡ Id. ib.

§ Id. p. 114. ‖ Robertson's Charles V. ib. 83.

While

CHAP. XXVIII. 1517.

While Luther was distinguishing himself in the paths of science, Tetzel arrived in the vicinity of Wittemberg, and met with prodigious encouragement. A scene, not less novel than indecent, attracted the attention of the young theologian, and excited his most glowing indignation. Although the validity of indulgences was sanctioned by the approbation of many eminent divines, he could discover no authority in the Scriptures for a practice, which appeared equally subversive of morality and of religion. A detestation of falsehood formed so essential a part of his character, that he would have preferred martyrdom in defence of truth, to the proudest honours, which Rome could confer, if purchased by it's sacrifice. In a strain of bold invective, he declaimed against the licentiousness of Tetzel, expatiating on the folly of attempting to purchase eternal salvation by any means, except by the constant practice of faith and charity.*

* Mosheim, IV. 34.

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The energetic eloquence of his stile excited universal applause. Encouraged by success, he ventured to remonstrate, in a modest letter, with the elector of Mentz, on the immoral conduct of his agents, who seemed, he said, to glory in the turpitude of their vices. But no redress could be expected from a man personally interested in defending the abuses, against which the enlightened professor lifted up his voice.*

* The following anecdote places the doctrine of indulgences in so ridiculous a light, that it could hardly fail to have operated as forcibly as the loudest censures of the intrepid reformer. Just as Tetzel was preparing to quit Leipsic, where he had collected a plentiful harvest, a gentleman requested to purchase an indulgence, for a crime, which he *intended* to commit; but which, from motives of delicacy, he was unwilling to specify. Tetzel made no difficulty, except about the price; which being settled, the absolution was delivered with every requisite formality. Soon after the bargain was struck, the friar set out upon his journey. But before he had proceeded far, he was met by the gentleman, who not only robbed him of his money, but gave him a severe beating into the bargain, informing him, that this was the very offence for which he had purchased absolution. Jortin's Erasmus, ib. 110.

Having once brandished the pen of controversy, Luther never quitted it again. The chief science of a German university, at that period, consisted in the art of disputation; nor was any communication esteemed worthy of learned notice, unless delivered under the barbarous form of syllogistical pedantry. Adhering to established practice, in this respect at least, Luther submitted ninety-five propositions to public inspection; not as axioms established on the immutable basis of truth, but as questions deserving the most serious investigation.* CHAP. XXVIII.

In all polemical disputes, it was deemed incumbent on the respondent to surpass his antagonist in the drowsy art of prolixity. Tetzel accordingly rebutted the ninety-five assailant propositions by a more numerous array of one hundred and six; but unwilling to rely solely upon the strength of his arguments, he had recourse to weapons of a more cogent description; and, in the plenitude of inquisitorial au-

* Robertson's Charles V. ib. 34. Mosheim, IV. 30.

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thority, condemned the works of his opponent to the flames.* This was certainly no proof of victory, though frequently assumed as such by the church of Rome. The new sect retorted by adopting the precedent, and burnt their adversaries elaborate defence.†

Meanwhile Luther's writings were read with avidity in every corner of Europe; and all eyes were directed with admiration toward a man, who had singly dared to oppose himself to the vengeance of the Dominicans, though armed with all the terrors of the inquisition.‡

A thousand

* Gaillard, VI. 158. † Seckendorf, I. p. 25, 62, &c.

‡ This bloody tribunal was first instituted by a council held at Tholouse in 1229, when it was enacted, That in every city, there should be established a court, for the extirpation of heresy. This office was subsequently transferred to the Dominicans by Gregory IX. with whom it has ever since remained. St. Dominic is supposed, by some writers, to have been the author of this sanguinary institution; while others affirm, that he was not even an inquisitor. This, however, is considered by Mosheim as a mere cavil upon words, and to his laborious work we refer those readers, who are desirous of farther information; while we content ourselves, in common with every friend

A thousand combatants now entered the lists, distinguishing themselves less by the force of their arguments than the acrimony of their invectives.* This rigid investigation proved highly prejudicial to the papal cause, as it evinced the futility of scholastic logic and pontifical decrees, when opposed to the dictates of reason and the voice of scriptural truth.

friend of humanity, with expressing our satisfaction, that in most countries of Europe a more liberal system of religious faith has wrested the scourge and the pincers from the hands of the barbarous saint, and confined his followers to the more innocent duties of fasting, penitence, and prayer. Mosheim, III. 269, &c. Even the recent disasters of Spain, through the agency of Him, who out of evil still educes good, may perhaps be compensated by the mitigation and eventual suppression of this sanguinary establishment.

* Luther, (as appears from his reply to Henry VIII.) was rough, or rather scurrilous, in all his controversial writings. Nor was he more lenient toward the other reformers, when they presumed to differ from him in any article of faith. He calls Zuingle 'an ass;' and applies to his disciples, by an indecent parody, the first verse of the psalms. *Blessed is the man, who hath not walked in the counsel of the* ZUINGLIANS! Jortin's Erasmus, I. 110, and I.

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While Luther was sapping the foundations of the Romish church, Leo reposed in perfect security, as if totally insensible to the gathering storm. Engaged in occupations far more congenial with his refined taste, than the disputes of controversial theology, he beheld with contempt the polemical gladiators, who were contending in a rude and barbarous dialect, in the northern provinces of Europe. At length, however, the cries of superstition excited his attention, and he summoned the Saxon disputant to appear at Rome.* But Luther was no longer an obscure monk, whom the pope could overwhelm with a frown. The elector of Saxony, who secretly favoured his opinions, held a shield before him, against which the artillery of the Vatican thundered without effect. Relying on the protection of that powerful prince, Luther evaded complying with the papal mandate, and solicited a trial in his native land.† Leo was flattered by the respectful

* Mosheim, IV. 36.

† Luther's conduct, upon this occasion, was justified by every

respectful language, in which the demand was conveyed, and consented to refer the decision to Cardinal Caietan, his legate in Germany, a man celebrated for scholastic erudition, and a zealous advocate of papal infallibility. CHAP. XXVIII.

Accordingly Luther, having received a safe conduct from the emperor, departed for Augsburg to meet the cardinal, in proud anticipation of victory. The legate, however was not sent to reason, but to compel. He accordingly declined all personal disputation, insisting on Luther's immediate recantation, or threatening him 1519.

every principle of self-preservation. He was too well acquainted with the unforgiving temper of the Roman clergy, to suppose that the smallest lenity would be shewn toward a friar, whose doctrine their interest would prompt them to condemn. How could he hope, that they would consent to sacrifice their temporal greatness to the peace of the Christian world? The experience of ages proved the contrary, and the event seemed fully to exculpate him from all the calumnies of his opponents; as the partisans of Rome continued to defend, with unyielding obstinacy the abuses of the ancient system, adhering, (as Jortin emphatically expresses it) to the oracular maxim, that '*whatever is, is right.*' I. 206.

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with the severest penalties, which the exasperated church could inflict. Terrified by their recollection of the fate of Huss, the friends of Luther grew alarmed for his safety, and persuaded him privately to withdraw from Augsburg. With their entreaties he at length complied, though he left behind him a paper, in which he defended his opinions, and complained of the unfairness of his judge.*

It could not be expected, that the persecution would terminate here. The reformer's tenets having been once declared heretical, the honour of the church was deeply engaged; nor was it possible for her to abandon the contest, without renouncing every claim to infallibility.

Luther now found himself in a situation sufficient to terrify a soul less resolute than his own. His only dependence was in the elector's support, and history informed him that the actions of princes are not less subject to the control of fear, or interest, or caprice, than those of meaner

* Mosheim, IV. 37.

men. Under these circumstances, he embraced the most rational scheme, that contending dangers would admit; and boldly appealed to a General Council, as paramount to the authority of the pope himself.* CHAP. XXVIII.

Leo was now warmed by opposition, and gradually laid aside his philosophical indifference, till he was at last prevailed upon to issue a bull, in which he made use of expressions, fit only to be tolerated in the darkest ages of superstition; thundering forth anathemas, like another Hildebrand, against every one, who in conformity to the dictates of reason should presume to question the validity of his decree.

This instrument however was regarded by the wise and virtuous only as the last effort of a ruined empiric, anxious to revive the reputation of his discredited nostrum. Absolutions were no longer marketable; the bull was disregarded; and Luther continued to write.

* Mosheim, ib. 38.

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At this important crisis, the emperor Maximilian died; an event highly favourable to the reformation, since according to the forms of the Germanic constitution, the office of Grand Vicar was exercised by the Elector of Saxony, during the vacancy of the imperial throne*. Luther was now of course effectually screened from persecution: Leo himself regarding the election of an emperor as far more interesting than the disputes of theology, adopted a milder tone, lest he should offend a prince, whose suffrage he was anxious to secure†.

In proportion as Luther examined the doctrines of the Romish church, he discovered fresh abuses. Acquiring confidence from past success, he pointed his satire against the papal throne; while the pontiff, uncertain what course to pursue, fluctuated from one extreme to the other, till with a violence discreditable to his natural sagacity, he not only condemned the

† Schmidt, Geschichte der Deutschen. XI. 77.

† Schmidt, XI. 99.

works

works of the reformer to the flames, but ordered him publicly to retract his opinions under the dreadful pain of excommunication*. CHAP. XXVIII.

This rigorous measure excited a general commotion throughout Germany. In some places the bull was treated by the populace with every mark of ridicule and contempt; in others it was received with the strongest demonstrations of joy, as the triumph of the ancient religion, and the irrecoverable overthrow of heresy.

But the intrepidity of Luther increased with his danger. Hitherto he had affected the profoundest veneration for the successor of St. Peter. He now threw off the mask, and ransacked the Scriptures for opprobrious epithets to stigmatise both him and his. The application of the terms 'Antichrist,' and 'Whore of Babylon,' to the church of Rome, was reserved for the ingenuity of Luther.

However weak in point of argument such scurrility may appear to the eye of liberal

* Id. ib.

criticism,

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criticism, it was perhaps better calculated to make an impression upon vulgar understandings, than the most brilliant refinements of wit, or the clearest demonstrations of philosophy. With energetic eloquence he exhorted all the sovereigns of Europe to assert the rights of mankind, and to burst the disgraceful shackles of superstition, which they had so long worn with patient credulity*. Desirous also of confirming his doctrines by the more powerful incentive of example, he embraced the daring resolution of separating entirely from the communion of Rome. Having caused a vast pile of wood to be kindled near the gates of Wittemberg, he cast into the fire the fatal Bull, together with a voluminous† mass of dulness, which under the imposing titles of Canons and Decretals, formed the groundwork of papal imposture. Nor was he less anxious to convince the world that he was acting a consistent part. He therefore selected those passages which were most repugnant to

* Schmidt. XI. 102. † Mosheim, IV. 52.

common

common sense, and published them with copious comments and illustrations*. He has been severely censured for the violence of his proceedings; but, in his case, violence was the soundest policy. Had he acted with greater moderation, his success would have been less complete. CHAP. XXVIII.

Such was the state of things, when Charles ascended the imperial throne. His conduct at that momentous crisis, has been subject to much animadversion. Yet, considering the question in a political light, he could not, with common prudence, have acted otherwise. Had he declared in favour of the new opinions, he must have offended the catholic party, and would thus have necessarily obstructed the accomplishment of those mighty projects, which already occupied his ambition†. Besides, Francis might have availed himself of this impolitic measure to unite with the friends of the old religion, whose alliance he would have preferred for many reasons to that of

* Robertson's Charles V. II. 97.

† Schmidt, XI. 102.

the

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the Reformers. Nor could it be expected that a monarch, whose ideas of prerogative were carried to excess, should approve the tenets of a sect, which subjected every species of authority to the test of critical examination, and thus sapped the foundation upon which absolute power reposed *. While the Saxon professor displayed wisdom and vigour in defence of truth, the court of Rome rushed on from error to error. Desirous of reconciling discordant interests, Leo still doubted what measures to adopt; for he plainly perceived that severity was not less prejudicial than indifference.

Various other circumstances concurred to favour the champion of reform. His discoveries were laid before the public, at the moment they were made, and of course

* It is worthy of remark, that no sovereign of a great nation embraced the reformed religion, except the capricious and tyrannical Henry VIII. and with his decision conviction had very little to do. It is also observable among his successors, that those princes, who have shown a decided partiality for the opinions of Rome, have been equally the friends of prerogative.

in

in a gradual progression. A first innovation paved the way to a second; and the examination of one tenet evinced the fallacy of another. Thus, as Dr. Robertson expresses it, "did conviction keep pace with discovery," till the foundations of the papal power were undermined, and the gigantic fabric shaken to it's very foundation*. CHAP. XXVIII.

From investigating the doctrines of the church of Rome, Luther was naturally led to examine the lives and morals of their ministerial professors. A scene of corruption, avarice, and ambition, now opened to his view, which armed his indignant pen with keener satire. The ostentatious severity of many of the monastic orders, and the rigid obligation to celibacy, which was common to them all, revolted his judicious mind. With meritorious zeal he combated an institution, so repugnant to the benign intentions of the Creator. Nor could he be persuaded, that a regulation, violating the strongest instinct of nature, could be

* Charles V. II. 100.

consistent

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consistent with the dispensations of a Being, whose first injunction to man was to 'increase and multiply.'

Convinced that the world had been too long the dupe and the victim of a system, not less injurious to population, than subversive of morality, he directed his attention to the master-wheel, which gave motion to the whole machinery; and having once lifted up the veil, he was struck with amazement at the contrivance. Giving unbounded scope to his indignation, he attacked the presumptuous claim of infallibility, and refused obedience to all human institutions, unless expressly sanctioned by the authority of God; boldly insisted that the scriptures were the only just criterion in matters of faith; and defied his opponents to produce a single passage in that sacred volume, by which men were enjoined to confess their sins to creatures as weak and as fallible as themselves*.

"What

* Auricular confession was instituted in the sixth century. At first it was confined to the inferior clergy, but was

"What proofs," he asked, "give credit "to a metamorphosis, which requires a "momentary repetition of miracles, not "less surprising than unnecessary?" He accordingly rejected the doctrine of Transubstantiation*, and endeavoured to recal

was afterward enjoined, as a religious duty, by a council held in 763, and this is the first time that it is mentioned under a dogmatical form. It was not, however, before the 12th century, that it was considered as an essential preparation to the Lord's Supper. To demonstrate the mischief which may arise from the abuse of such an institution, when employed for worldly purposes, it may be sufficient to remark, that in the reign of Henry IV, of France, many of the priests refused absolution to those who were not traitors to the best of kings. Voltaire, Hist. Gen. XVII.

* The distinction, in the administration of the sacrament, between the clergy and the laity, was unknown to the primitive christians. Nor did any dispute of this kind, for many ages, arise in the Greek church. The metaphysical subtilty of the eastern theologians was fully occupied in explaining the mystical union of the two natures, or in fathoming the bottomless abyss of predestination and grace. In silent adoration they received the symbol of their Redeemer's death, without thinking it necessary to salvation, that they should discredit the testimony of every sense. Mosheim.

CHAP. XXVIII. mankind from the idolatrous worship of relics* and of statues, to the adoration of the living God.

It must not, however, be supposed that these discoveries were entirely new. The learned Erasmus had already satirised those senseless austerities, which had usurped the place of practical benevolence, and genuine piety. His opinion of the monastic orders may be deduced from the following passage. "The greatest "mischief," says that ingenious writer, "which has befallen christianity, arises "from the Religious Orders. Examine "those which are in the highest repute, "and you will not discover the smallest "trace of the gospel of Christ. The "greater part of them indeed have no "better motives for embracing the mo- "nastic profession, than ignorance, lazi- "ness, and gluttony." In his dedication

* Spalatinus drew up an inventory of the relics, which were preserved in the Church of Wittemberg, in 1523, amounting to 19,374. Those of Halle were still more numerous. Jortin's Erasmus, I. 297.

to

to St. Jerome, he thus ridicules the superstition of the times. "We kiss the mouldy "shoes and stinking handkerchiefs of the "saints, but we totally neglect their writ-"ings, which are by far their most valu-"able part. We lock up fragments of "their clothes and bones in costly cabi-"nets, while we abandon their works to "the moths and the rats *."

It was perhaps fortunate for Luther, that the papal chair was filled by the enlightened Leo. Superior to the follies of superstition, he looked down with contempt on the chaotic conflicts of controversial theology. A bigot would have been alarmed at the first symptoms of heresy, and silenced the reformer before his doctrines had taken root. Waldus, Wicliffe, and Huss, had formerly declaimed against the errors of popery; but the cloud, which then enveloped the christian world, was impervious to the rays of truth, whereas every thing now combined to favour the reformers. The respect for the see of Rome

* Jortin's Erasmus, ib. 78.

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was visibly diminished by the scandalous schism, which had so long divided the western church. The indecent spectacle of two rival pontiffs, anathematising each other, gave an irreparable blow to the favourite doctrine of papal infallibility*. Besides religious disputes had formerly been confined to men of deep erudition; but, as many of the reformers wrote in their native language, their works were devoured with avidity by persons of every description, and awakened the human mind from the torpor by which it had been benumbed for ages. Many even of those, whose contented ignorance had greedily swallowed whatever they were commanded to believe, were now astonished to find that those opinions were founded in the grossest error, which they and their ancestors had long been accustomed to revere as the surest guides to salvation.

Yet notwithstanding the popularity of his cause, Luther still felt that, unless he was supported by some powerful govern-

* Mosheim, ib. 16.

ment,

ment, he had insuperable difficulties to encounter. He accordingly addressed himself with pious prudence to the most active passions of the human heart. The ignorance, the riches, and the licentiousness* of the clergy, afforded a copious theme for his declamation; while the plunder of that wealthy order was held out as a temptation to those, who might prefer the interests of the present, to those of the future world. CHAP. XXVIII.

No country had suffered more from ecclesiastical tyranny than Germany. During the disastrous period of anarchy, occasioned by the quarrels between the emperors and the popes, the national prelates had in general sided with the court of Rome; and many of them took advantage of the degradation of their sovereigns, to establish an independent authority. With

* Id. ib. The profligacy of the higher clergy is thus exposed by Voltaire. "Croui, archbishop of Cambray, being dangerously ill, divided his property by will among his natural children; reserving, by a particular clause, a considerable sum for any future bastards, with which God might bless him, in case of his recovery." Hist. Gen.

CHAP XXVIII. the prerogatives of the feudal barons, they assumed their habits, throwing aside every characteristic virtue of the episcopacy*. In many provinces of the empire, the people had even compelled the parish-priest to have a concubine in his house, in hopes of protecting the chastity of their wives; and in the reign of Maximilian, the bishops publicly granted licences to the inferior clergy to keep a mistress; nor would it be difficult to produce many instances of their having forced them to pay for this permission, whether they made use of it or not.†

The exemption of the clergy from all civil tribunals had been long a source of complaint. Not satisfied with asserting their own privileges, they were continually encroaching upon those of the laity. Under various pleas, they extended the jurisdiction of the spiritual courts over most of the concerns of life. Nor did

* Mosheim, ib. 16, and in various other places.

† The immorality of the clergy is strongly painted by Robertson, Charles V. II. 103.

they

they experience much difficulty in persuading the people to acknowledge their claim; as mankind were generally ready enough to submit to the decision of judges, who with all their ignorance were still less incompetent than the illiterate nobles, to determine any intricate point of law.

Another odious privilege, assumed by the German clergy, was a total exemption from taxes. What indeed could be more unpopular, than that a body of men, who had absorbed more than half of the wealth of the nation, should refuse the smallest contribution toward it's defence.*

It is impossible, within the compass of the present work, to follow the court of Rome, through all her various ramifications of extortion and chicanery. To such an excess of profligacy had it attained, that it gloried in the breach of every divine command. Contractors purchased from the pope the disposal of all the ecclesiastical benefices in different provinces of the empire, which they sold again to the high-

* Id. ib. 110.

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est bidder at an exorbitant profit.* Even statesmen and philosophers, though totally indifferent to the strifes of theology, could not view with unconcern this scandalous traffic, which annually drew such enormous sums from the generous credulity of the north, to pamper the pride and the luxury of Rome.

From these considerations it appears, that the minds of the Germans were fully prepared to receive the doctrines of Luther. Even his indecorous scurrility excited little disgust, as men were at that time such perfect strangers to the polite refinements of disputation, that they thought no expressions too strong to paint their abhorrence of a tyranny, under which they had groaned for ages.

Among other obligations, the world is chiefly indebted to Luther for having first led them to turn their thoughts toward religious subjects. Before his time, the learned were almost exclusively engaged in the study of Pagan philosophy; while

* Id. Ib. 113.

religion

religion afforded indeed an object of ridicule to the satirist and the wit, but scarcely ever occupied the researches of genius or of piety.* So complete was the neglect, into which the Bible had fallen, that while there was a professorship founded at Padua to explain Averroes, there was none to expound the holy Scriptures.†

Few causes conduced more efficaciously to hasten the progress of the reformation, than the invention of printing; which by facilitating the propagation of knowledge, rendered it easy for persons of every class, to become acquainted with the points in dispute. That the investigation of abuses is the most certain road to amendment, is a fact too notorious to require proof.

The revival of letters was also peculiarly favourable to the rising sect. No sooner had man resumed the prerogative of thought, than he proudly employed it in submitting questions, which had hitherto

* The works of Boccacio, and of most contemporary writers, will amply justify this remark.

† Jortin's Erasmus, II. 116.

been

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been involved in impervious mystery, to the unerring test of truth.

From the writings of Luther, we may readily pronounce, that he was a stranger to elegant composition. Yet still he recommended the study of the ancient languages, particularly of the Greek and Hebrew, which he justly considered as essential to the attainment of a critical knowledge of the Scriptures. Melancthon,* and some others of his associates, were deeply versed in classical literature. Throughout the whole contest, indeed, taste and learning were clearly on the side of the reformers; while their adversaries, who were for the most part dull and ignorant friars, adhered with pertinacity to the authorised

* The character of Melancthon is given by Jortin, in nearly the following words: "He was of a mild and moderate temper, and entertained the sincerest esteem for Luther, though he frequently complained of his overbearing spirit. But there was no virtue, for which this amiable man was so conspicuous, as for disinterestedness. We are told by Seckendorf, that he refused his salary as professor of divinity, because he was prevented by other avocations from bestowing that rigid attention upon his office, which in his opinion it required." I. 145—7.

prejudices

prejudices of the old school, treating every improvement in science as dangerous and heretical.* Hence the friends of learning became, almost universally, the friends of the reformation; and it is easy to infer what advantage it must have derived from the ingenuity and erudition of their polemical writings.

The reception of the new doctrines was facilitated even by persons, who never aimed at innovation in the established worship. But it was scarcely possible for men, who admired the sublime theories of Aristotle and Plato, to endure the disgusting mummeries of the Romish church, and the still more revolting absurdities of the illiterate monks, who revealed the weakness of their cause by their clumsy efforts to defend it. Without seriously intending to overturn the ancient system, Erasmus and others exposed the laborious dulness of scholastic theologians, in a strain of amusing ridicule, which prepared mankind

* Jortin's Erasmus, I. 123.

for

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for the more serious attacks of the reformers.

No character stood higher in the estimation of the literary world, than that of Erasmus. Having been designed for the ecclesiastical profession, he had directed his attention to the study of divinity*. But his religion was that of an enlightened mind, and consisted in the performance of those important duties, which are practised by the wise and virtuous of every sect. He was consequently decidedly hostile to all those rites and ceremonies, with which christianity was disfigured by the church of Rome†; and which were regarded by many as more essential to salvation, than temperance, probity, or benevolence. In consequence of these merited censures, he has been accused, by the catholics, of "having laid the egg which Luther hatched"‡. It must be admitted that this charge was not entirely without foundation, as he had previously

* Jortin's Erasmus, I. 3 † Ib. id. 19, *et passim.*

‡ Id. ib. 106.

attacked

attacked almost every ceremony which the bolder Saxon proscribed. The dull theology of the schools was equally an object of ridicule to both. They both recommended the study of the Bible, as the only source whence true religion could be derived. But Erasmus was an enemy to violence*, and was prevented by the natural timidity of his disposition from engaging in those turbulent scenes, which called forth all the energy of Luther.†

Hitherto the imperial court appears to have beheld the progress of the reformation with inattention, if not with indifference. But political considerations, at length determined Charles to adopt a different system; and Luther was in consequence summoned to appear before a diet at Worms. At no period of his life, was his intrepidity displayed in a more conspicuous light. When warned by his friends of the dangers, which awaited him,

* Id. ib 155, *et passim*.

† Vide Bayle, article *Erasme*; and Jortin's Erasmus, I. 249.

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he replied with undaunted fortitude "if there were as many devils combined against him in that city, as there were tiles on the houses, he would not hesitate to meet them all;*" and frequently in the more advanced stages of the inquiry regretted, "that he had not been still bolder in the cause of truth."

Although threats and intreaties were alternately employed against him, he positively refused to retract his opinions, till he was convinced that they were contrary to the doctrines of Christ†. Perceiving that all attempts were equally ineffectual, the partisans of the ancient communion suggested the expediency of delivering the world from an incorrigible heretic, and held out the conduct of the council of Constance as a precedent for the emperor's imitation. But Charles revolted with horror at the iniquitous proposal, and contented himself with commanding

* Robertson's Charles V. II. 122.

† Mosheim, ib. 56.

Luther

Luther to immediately quit the city. Within a few days after his departure, the emperor published an imperial rescript, condemning Luther's doctrines as heretical, and declaring him under the ban of the empire*. CHAP. XXVIII.

The elector of Saxony, however, had taken such wise precautions, that the sentence was attended with no serious consequences. During several months, Luther was concealed in the castle of Wartemburg, near Eisenach; and though the place of his retreat was a profound secret to the world, his friends were occasionally consoled with assurances of his safety, which dispelled the gloom, occasioned by his sudden disappearance†.

Fortunately for the triumph of the evangelical communion, the emperor was so much occupied in the pursuits of ambition, that he had no time to attend

* Id. ib 56.

† During his concealment, all the astrologers of Italy were employed by the court of Rome, in order to discover the place of his retreat.

to

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to theological disputes. This neglect inspired the protestant party with increasing hopes. At a diet, held in Nuremberg, they presented a list of objectionable articles, as proper objects of reform.

1523.

Emboldened by success, Luther ventured to recommend by his own example, a doctrine which he had long inculcated with fervent zeal, by marrying Catherine Bore, a woman of noble birth, who had formerly taken the veil, but found upon trial that she had little relish for the monastic virtue of chastity. This was a cause of much scandal to many of his friends;* but they were still more offended, that he chose for the celebration of the ceremony a moment when his country was exposed to every calamity. The result, however, of this bold determination has proved so essential to the happiness of thousands, that few could be met with in this enlightened age, who would not applaud his resolu-

1526.

* Even Sleidan admits, that Luther's marriage exposed him to the censure of his enemies.

tion.

tion. His example gave a severer blow to monastic institutions, than all the satire which ever flowed from the indignant pen of philosophy. CHAP. XXVIII.

Of the detriment, which accrued to population from the celibacy of the clergy, some estimate may be formed from a passage of Voltaire*, in which he asserts, that the order of St. Francis alone under all it's ramifications was in possession of seven thousand monasteries, inhabited by one hundred and fifteen thousand monks, and twenty-nine thousand nuns. But from more recent documents collected at a time, when it was for the interest of the government not to dissemble the abuse, this calculation appears to have been greatly exaggerated, or the spirit of enthusiasm must have declined prodigiously in the course of a very few years.

Hitherto the controversy had been confined to the pen. But in an age, when the human mind was so violently agitated by

* Hist. Gen. I quote the passage without vouching for it's authenticity.

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contending passions, it was hardly possible that such important questions should be set afloat, without producing more serious results. Among the various sects, to which perverted reason has given birth, none have contributed more efficaciously, than the Anabaptists to display the horrors of fanaticism in their real light. The spirit of innovation, which had gone abroad, engendered opinions, strange and extravagant as the habits of those who embraced them. From the examination of religious tenets, men proceeded to the investigation of political abuses, and undertook to reform them by the same violent methods. In the year 1525, an immense multitude of ignorant fanatics took up arms, in various parts of Germany, under pretence of redressing the wrongs of the people, and setting bounds to the oppression of the nobility *. The cry of liberty, as is too frequently the case in popular commotions, became the watch word for every enormity. The greater part

* The rise and progress of this sect are circumstantially described by the learned Dr. Mosheim. IV. 439, &c.

of Suabia and Franconia was laid waste with fire and sword; and the magistrates and the laws became equally objects of persecution. Though this despicable mass of infatuation and fury was originally composed of peasants, who groaned under the yoke of feudal despotism (whence the insurrection was called the Rustic war,) they were subsequently joined by great numbers, either impelled by the wildest enthusiasm, instigated by the hope of plunder, or attracted by a taste for dissolute pleasures. Formidable however as they were in point of numbers, as they acted with little concert, and were conducted by utter strangers to the art of war, they fell an easy prey to disciplined valour*.

No sooner were the insurgents dispersed in Germany, than they sought an asylum in Switzerland; where, in return for the rights of hopitality, they were busily employed in propagating the seeds of sedition. But the vigilance of the magistrates prevented the poison from spreading. A des-

* Sleiden, V.

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perate fanatic, who was a native of St. Gal, having assured his parents, that he was commissioned by heaven to punish his own brother for his want of faith, cut off his head in their presence. But the evidence of his divine mission not being quite so satisfactorily ascertained, in the opinion of his judges, as it was in his own, the prophet himself soon underwent a similar fate*.

In Thuringia and Saxony the rebellion assumed a more menacing aspect. Muncer, a man of an enterprising and abandoned character, though professedly a convert to the Lutheran doctrines, put himself at the head of the insurgents, and taking advantage of certain passages in Scripture, which by forced interpretations he applied to himself, assumed the tone of prophetic inspiration, inculcating the most dangerous tenets, that enthusiasm, phrensy, or the love of mischief could inspire.

The doctrine of equality is too flattering to the restless vanity of man, to be ever

* Gaillard. VI. 262.

heard

heard with indifference. Having surprised the town of Muhlhausen, he chose it for the seat of his government*, and began immediately to reduce his pernicious system to practice. As a proof of the disinterested spirit with which he acted, he compelled his subjects, under pain of death, to deliver up their most precious effects, which with gross inconsistency he immediately appropriated to his own use. Meanwhile, his troops overturned all forms of laws, carrying off every thing that could tempt their rapacity, under colour of destroying the jurisdiction of tyrants, and restoring mankind to their natural rights. CHAP. XXVIII.

Alarmed at the rapid progress of the insurrection, and fearful that it might injure the cause of truth, the protestant princes assembled an army, and having defeated the apostle of anarchy, immediately sentenced him to an ignominious death†. This salutary act of severity, however, did not prove sufficient to extinguish the flame. Scarcely had their leader fallen, when a

* Sleiden, V. 47. † Mosheim, IV. 447.

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swarm of prophets arose, from among the most ignorant and profligate of the human race; men, whose acquaintance with holy writ was confined entirely to the cruelties occasionally there recorded, and who resolved in implicit conformity to the precept of Samuel, to exterminate their enemies in the name of the Lord. Having pitched upon Munster, a city in Westphalia, as the capital of their new empire, they resolved to revive the theocracy of the Israelites, and to be subject to no domination, except that of God. Matthew the principal prophet being killed, a journeyman taylor, called John of Leyden (from the place of his nativity) declared to the people, that he was commissioned by heaven to reign over the congregation of the faithful*; and his claim being acknowledged by general assent, he was immediately anointed king. Having thus ascended the throne by divine appointment, his primary care was to select twelve enthusiasts, who were sent abroad with apostolic powers to preach the

* Id. ib. 452.

necessity

necessity of regeneration. With the authority, he assumed all the prerogatives of the Hebrew sovereigns, and is said, in imitation of Solomon, to have married seventeen wives*. One of his queens having presumed to question his divine mission, he cut off her head with his own sword, and compelled her affrighted companions to dance around the bleeding carcase. His reign, however, was of short duration. For his capital being taken, the royal prophet was condemned to expiate his crimes on a scaffold†.

In spite of every obstacle which ambition, interest, or fanaticism, could oppose, the opinions of Luther were rapidly diffused throughout every quarter of Germany. Adrian, though distinguished for the probity of his heart and the unblemished purity of his manners, was totally destitute of those particular qualities, which were calculated for the meridian of Rome. Too

* Id. ib. Voltaire, Hist. Gen.

† Mosheim, ib. 463.

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virtuous to behold the disorders of the clergy, without the keenest feelings of indignation and shame, he was too honest to conceal his sentiments. So that instead of combating the northern theologians with those weapons which his predecessors would have used, he candidly acknowledged their complaints to be just, and even promised to assist in procuring a remedy for the evil*.

Clement VII., who succeeded to the papal chair, was endowed with qualities of a very opposite cast, and was entirely free from those inconvenient scruples, which embarrassed the upright but impolitic Fleming. Trained in all the wiles of the Vatican, he considered intrigue and artifice, as the fittest instruments for a states-

* Adrian freely confesses in some of his letters, that the church stood in need of reformation, but added, that it must be done "step by step." Luther, in a marginal note upon this expression, observes, that it was the pope's intention, that between each step there should be an interval of at least one hundred years. See Jortin's Erasmus, I. 296.

man

man to employ, and thus committed as many errors from a mistaken notion of refinement, as his predecessor had done from the unpapal simplicity of his heart*. CHAP. XXVIII.

The quarrel of the pontiff with the emperor induced the latter to listen to the proposal of the protestants for assembling a general Council†. When a reconciliation took place, it was no longer time for vigorous measures; as most of the princes, who were converts to the Lutheran tenets, had broken off all connection with Rome. Little less than one half of Germany had burst the shackles of superstition; and even in those provinces, which still adhered to the ancient communion, the papal authority had sustained a shock, from which it never recovered.

The rigorous proceedings of the diet, held at Spires, served only to connect the enemies of Rome by closer ties. Perceiving that their remonstrances were treated with 1529.

* For his character, see Mosheim, IV. 62.

† Id. ib. p. 101.

neglect,

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neglect, the princes and the imperial cities, who had embraced the opinions of Luther, entered a *protest* against the resolutions passed in that assembly; upon which account, they were afterward distinguished by the appellation of PROTESTANTS*.

Alarmed at this formidable coalition, Charles resolved once more to have recourse to palliatives, and in consequence convened another diet at Augsburg, at which he requested the Protestants to attend. It was apparently his wish, by a conciliatory plan, to have united the contending parties in one common mode of worship. But the attempt proved abortive, and the assembly separated without the smallest hope of terminating the dispute by compromise†.

After ineffectually trying all the arts of corruption in order to disunite the new

* This protest was signed by the elector of Saxony, the Marquis of Brandenburgh, the Landgrave of Hesse, the Prince of Anhalt, and the Duke of Lunenburgh, and the deputies of fourteen imperial cities. Robertson's Charles V. II. 327.

† Id. ib. 329.

sect,

sect, Charles yielded at length to the im- CHAP. XXVIII.
portunities of the pope, and assuming a tone of authority, prohibited the exercise of the reformed religion, as a dangerous and heretical innovation*. This intemperate measure, though it spread momentary consternation throughout the protestant states, was far from diminishing the zeal of the teachers, or lessening the number of their proselytes.

A general assembly was held at Smalcalde, where the leaders of the party, having taken into consideration the dangers which menaced their devoted country from the united efforts of bigotry and despotism, they concluded a league for their mutual defence†. This event constitutes an important epocha in the history of the reformation; as the protestants now formed a distinct and separate interest in the Germanic body. It is written in the book of nature, that civil and religious liberty shall ever be connected by inseparable ties. Hence the partisans of the new communion

* Id. ib. 331. † Id. ib. p. 332.

became

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became the warmest champions of freedom, and opposed for years an insuperable barrier to the persevering encroachments of Austrian ambition.

CHAP-

CHAPTER XXIX.

Zuingle begins to preach in Switzerland---His Popularity and Success---State of Geneva, with a short Sketch of it's History---Dispute between Zuingle and Luther.

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WHILE Luther was contending, with undaunted courage against the power and corruption of the Vatican, he was zealously seconded in the Helvetic cantons, by a man not less conspicuous for purity of morals, than for the manly firmness of his general character. The atrocious conduct of Schinner had essentially diminished the veneration with which the Alpine peasant had been previously accustomed to contemplate the pious pageantries of Rome. The losses, sustained in the Italian wars, had produced a void in the population of Switzerland.

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Switzerland, highly detrimental to agriculture and commerce. Even they, who had been most enriched by the plunder and contaminated by the example of Italy, could not behold with indifference the profligate disregard for decency, which not only disgraced the pontificate of Alexander VI. but even sullied the glory of Julius and Leo. Viewed at a distance, the papal court presented a colossal structure embellished by the contributions of ages; but examined more nearly, it appeared a frightful compound, of vice and luxury, of weakness and superstition.

The morals and understandings of the Helvetic clergy were by no means calculated to efface this unfavourable impression. Contemporary historians abound with anecdotes, which display in that body a degree of ignorance and profligacy, sufficient to discredit any profession. We are informed by Meister, that when the collegiate church of Zuric was desirous of communicating the event of an election to the bishop of Constance, the members confessed themselves to have been under the necessity of employing

employing a notary, not one of the fraternity being able to write*. CHAP. XXIX.

Zuingle was a native of Wildhausen, in the county of Toggenburg, and descended from parents, who enjoyed an unblemished reputation, with a fortune just above mediocrity. After passing through a regular course of theological studies, he began to exercise the ecclesiastical functions in the town of Glarus. From the commencement of his career, he ventured courageously to refer his auditors to the holy scriptures, as the proper criterion of faith. A doctrine so novel could not fail to attract general notice. The celebrity of the youthful preacher recommended him to the notice of the abbot of Einsiedlen, a man of strong and cultivated intellect, who persuaded him to renounce his parochial duties for a more honourable establishment in the monastery†. Emboldened by applause, Zuingle advanced with hasty steps in the ar-

* Various instances of a similar nature may be found in Meister, several of which are selected by Mr. Planta.

† Ruchat, Histoire de la Reformation en Suisse. I. 7, &c.

duous

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duous work of reformation, exposing boldly to the contempt and abhorrence of the public, the crimes and tyranny of the court of Rome.

Zuingle appears to have been the first theologian who ventured to assert that morality alone was sufficient for salvation; and consequently that Cato, Socrates, and Marcus Aurelius had a better chance of obtaining eternal rewards*, than the greater part of those bigotted fanatics, whose chief claim was derived from unmeaning macerations, coupled with a professed dereliction of every social duty.

Although it be an honour which the Germans most reluctantly concede, there is little doubt that the comprehensive mind of Zuingle had embraced large and liberal views of reformation, at a time when Luther confined his attack to the sale of indulgences. Before the name of the Saxon professor reached the Alpine vallies, Zuingle had not only expounded the gospel to his rustic auditors in their native tongue, but

* Gaillard, VI. 288.

even

even dared publicly to question the supremacy of the pope*. CHAP. XXIX.

The character of this amiable man was not less calculated to inspire affection, than to command respect; as he united every elegant accomplishment, which can adorn the walks of private life, with the courage and constancy of a martyr. Nor did he think the most exemplary piety contaiminated by a taste for poetry, or an enthusiastic admiration for pagan literature†. In a word, by a rare combination of the most opposite qualities, his erudition was untinctured with pedantry, his morality unsoured by moroseness, and his devotion exempt from enthusiasm‡.

In the year 1519 Samson, an Italian monk, received a commission from Rome to distribute indulgencies to the Helvetic people; and having with the permission of the senate of Berne, established his ambulatory warehouse in that city, announced, from the pulpit, to the delighted populace,

* Mosheim, IV. 48. Note k. † Id. ib. p. 49.

‡ Meister's Hauptszenen der Helvet: Geschichte, I. 136.

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that whatever might be their future conduct, the soul of every Berner was not only liberated from the pains of purgatory, but even secured against the danger of eternal fire*.

This inestimable privilege the poor were allowed to purchase upon paper, at the trifling expense of two pence; while those, which were allotted to the higher classes, engrossed upon vellum, were sold at the more respectable minimum of a crown; rising thnce in proportion to the magnitude of the offence, or rather to the opulence of the offender; and in some cases, being said to have amounted to five hundred ducats†.

Samson now requested leave from the magistrates, to open his gainful traffic at Zuric. But fortunately for the inhabitants, Zuingle had been appointed to the office of preacher in the collegiate church; and had so far pre-occupied the public mind,

* Id. ib.

† A Bernese officer gave the monk a horse, in order to purchase an indulgence for his whole company. Planta, II. 129.

that

that the impostor was refused admittance, till he produced his credentials, and supported his demand by the conclusive authority of the pope. Having so far carried his point, he petitioned the diet to punish Bullinger, a village priest, who had presumed to depreciate his pious wares. This was probably intended as the prelude to a more serious attack upon Zuingle, whom as yet he could not venture to accuse. The friends of the latter, however, were aware of his insidious design, and having brought the affair to a public investigation, acquitted Bullinger, declaring boldly, that his sole offence was, without respect to persons, to have spoken the truth. The diet, in consequence, requested Samson to revoke the sentence of excommunication, which in the plenitude of power he had prematurely issued against his adversary, and farther enjoined him to quit the town*.

Apprehensive at the same time of incurring the displeasure of the pope, by this

* Meister.

CHAP. XXIX. decisive measure, they wrote immediately to Rome, to explain the motives of their conduct, and to implore the recal of an agent, who outraged religion by his abandoned profligacy. Leo made little difficulty in complying with the request; though he accompanied the favour with a declaration, that in granting remission for a pecuniary compensation, he exercised an undoubted prerogative of the holy see; and menaced all who might presume to question this important right with the severest punishment!!

From the high esteem in which Zuingle was held, his tenets were adopted by many eminent divines. Among those most distinguished for learning and genius, were Leo Judas, Lorit, Reuchlin, and Hausschein; the three latter better known by the more classical appellations of Glareanus Capito, and Oecolampadius *.

The zeal and energy with which Zuingle inculcated the necessity of a reform, drew

* Mallet, III. 93. Ruchat, I. Reuchlin was one of the restorers of letters in Germany. Jortin's Erasmus, I. 61.

crowded audiences; yet his opinions were not equally palatable to all even of those who seceded from the communion of Rome. The warmth, with which he declaimed against foreign service, and foreign subsidies, rendered numbers deaf to the evidence of truth, or tempted them to regard it as heretical. Yet so sweet was the voice of the charmer, that in spite of the opposition made by avarice and ambition, it carried conviction to the heart.

If we reflect upon the abuses, which were openly countenanced by the church of Rome, far from being astonished at the rapid progress of the Reformation, we are rather surprised, that so large a portion of the civilised world should still adhere to the papal see. From the following anecdote, which rests on unquestionable authority, the reader will judge by what atrocious artifices hypocrisy endeavoured to support the tottering edifice of superstition *.

* This story is not only related by Mosheim and Voltaire (though writers of a very different cast) but is mentioned also by Ruchat and Hottinger.

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A sordid contention for the spoils of credulity occasioned a desperate rivalship between the two celebrated orders of St. Dominic and St. Francis; though the glory of heaven was, as usual, the cloak thrown over their common ambition. The Dominicans at last obtained the ascendency, and with it an influence over the human mind, scarcely less extensive than that which the Jesuits subsequently usurped.

A passion so senseless as that of superstition, must always be subject to caprice and fashion. We accordingly find that, without any ostensible motive, the popularity of the Dominicans began rapidly to decline. The Franciscans observed the change with secret exultation, and hoped in consequence to establish a dogma which had long afforded the two orders a subject of controversy. The favourite tenet of St. Francis, that the virgin Mary was born without the stain of original sin, in that age of darkness, was daily received with greater avidity, and of course conduced daily to undermine the influence of the Dominicans, who maintained the contrary opinion.

nion. Convinced that their credit would be irretrievably lost, without some effective stroke, the Dominicans in 1504 convened a general chapter at Vimpsen*, to prepare for the grand attack. A plan was there arranged with consummate effrontery, and Berne was pitched upon for the theatre of action.

It was an established principle, among all the religious orders, that any novice, who had quitted his convent without taking the vows, was doomed to remain in purgatory until the day of judgment, unless previously liberated by the castigations and prayers of the pious. Availing himself of this irrational creed, the prior of the Dominicans selected a youth named Jetzer, who had lately taken the habit as a lay-brother, and whom a weak understanding, and an abundant faith, peculiarly qualified to become the tool and the victim of his guilt. Accordingly arrayed in a frightful garb, and vomiting fire from his mouth and

* Hottinger, Hist. Eccles. Helv. I. 334.

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nostrils, he entered the cell of his destined accomplice at midnight; and having suddenly roused him from his sleep, told him that he was the ghost of a friar, who had perished at Paris by the judgment of God, for having prematurely quitted the monastic habit. That he was, in consequence, condemned to suffer the most excruciating torments, without any hope of their mitigation, unless some charitable christian would generously agree to purchase it, by mortifications and penances, endured in his stead.

The credulous youth, instantly undertook the pious office, and on the following morning imparted his design to the whole fraternity; who exhorted him strenuously to persevere, assuring him of their most zealous assistance in this meritorious act of self-devotion. And in this instance, at least, they did not deceive him. The various discipline was inflicted with a degree of ardour, which if the conditions had been correct, promised a speedy termination to the sufferings of their departed brother. In a few days, the apparition returned, decorated

corated with all the insignia of beatitude, to thank the benevolent dupe for his kindness, and farther to assure him, that the virgin Mary was particularly partial to the order of St. Dominic, and not less offended with that of St. Francis, for having impiously asserted that she was equal in glory to her son.

By these, and similar artifices, the mind of Jetzer was inflamed to such a pitch of enthusiasm, that it was deemed adequate to the belief of every extravagance. Descending by the help of some ingenious machinery, the Virgin informed him in a tone of authority, that she was actually conceived in original sin, and that to maintain a contrary opinion was a crime of the highest magnitude. As an unequivocal proof of the divine favour, she promised to imprint upon his body the five wounds, with which our Saviour had been pierced on the cross. On the following night, by way of preparation for the atrocious scene, a soporific draught was administered to the deluded visionary, and while he lay insensible under it's powerful operation, his hands and his

feet

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feet were perforated with a sharp nail. He awoke in agony, which however was soon converted into ecstacy, when he beheld the envied marks of grace; nor did he any longer doubt, that he was selected by heaven for the regeneration of mankind. In this state of rapturous intoxication, he was exposed to public view. The astonished populace flocked in crowds to witness the prodigy, and propagated the story, to the utter confusion of the Franciscans throughout every part of Switzerland.

The principal performers in this impious farce being gradually emboldened by success, the imposture was managed with so little precaution, that the prior was detected under his borrowed garb. To secure themselves against total exposure, the monks embraced the nefarious project of murdering their mangled accomplice. A wafer, covered with corrosive sublimate, was accordingly given to him, in the place of the consecrated host. But no sooner had he tasted it, than he spit it out with the strongest expressions of horror. This profanation

fanation of the holy sacrament deserving the severest chastisement, which monastic discipline could inflict, he was confined in a loathsome dungeon, till he swore never to divulge the horrid mystery. Even after he obtained his liberty, he was so strictly watched, that it was impossible for him to communicate with any person beyond the walls of the cloister. By degrees, however, his keepers became more remiss, so that he at last found means to escape. CHAP. XXIX.

Throwing himself at the feet of the magistrates, he disclosed the infernal plot; but the affair appearing of sufficient magnitude to demand the cognisance of a higher tribunal, his examination was transmitted to Rome; commissioners were sent thence into Switzerland, the friars were brought to a public trial, and four of the most guilty were condemned to the flames.

An adventure like this afforded ample materials for satire, and when fairly stated could hardly fail of producing a powerful effect.

Meanwhile, the partisans of the ancient communion

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communion were not idly employed. Conscious of the weakness of their cause, they had recourse to calumny, as their most efficacious weapon; and affirmed that the tenets of Zuingle were not less subversive of sound morality, than repugnant to the doctrines of Christ. The eagerness, with which many of the clergy renounced their vow of celibacy for the comforts of the marriage state, was falsely attributed to licentious motives; and they were upbraided with having abandoned the religion of their forefathers, because it imposed irksome restraints upon their loose and carnal desires. From the violence of their invectives, an impartial spectator might have been tempted to believe, that some new commandment had been lately added to the decalogue, enjoining an ecclesiastic to live with every man's wife except his own. But when the doors of the convents were thrown open, and the pious sisters issued forth with delight from their hallowed recesses, the indignant priests set no bounds to their anger, but accused the protestants with patronising

tronising a system, more lax and sensual even than that of Mahomet himself*. CHAP. XXIX.

No sooner was Leo informed that the seeds of innovation had taken root in Switzerland, than he addressed a pastoral letter to the diet, admonishing them of the dangers of heresy, and exhorting them to persevere with unshaken constancy in the established faith. These admonitions were delivered in the soothing language of paternal affection, and had nothing indicatory of offended pride, or unforgiving animosity. The politic pontiff, studiously avoided every expression calculated to alienate the minds of a people, whom he valued far more on account of their courage, than of their credulity; and whose co-operation he considered as essential to the accomplishment of his ambitious projects. Nor was it a trifling consideration with the common father of the christian world, in favour of lenient measures, that while most of the Helvetic states had ac-

* The consecrated virgins, upon quitting their respective prisons, married into the first families of Switzerland. Mallet, III. 101.

cepted

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cepted the subsidies of France, the unorthodox Zuric adhered with fidelity to the holy see. This was a paramount virtue in the estimation of Leo, who so long as they continued to second his views in the present world, left them, with philosophical indifference, to settle their concerns for themselves in the world to come *.

Happy indeed would it have proved for the Helvetic people, if the same spirit of moderation, which guided the actions of the head, had pervaded every member of the clerical body. But they were, for the most part, as incapable of imitating his prudence, as they were inferior to him in the refinements of taste, or the acquirements of literature.

Scarcely had Reuchlin began to preach at Bâle†, when the mendicants rose in arms to a man, convinced that the triumph of reason was incompatible with their own. Addressing their complaints to the civil tribunals, they implored their speedy

* Simmler's Sammlung und urkunden, die kirchengeschichte zu beleuchten. 1.

† Mallet, III. 97.

interference

interference, persuaded that the arm of authority would operate more efficaciously in favour of superstition, than all her arguments, or even all her absurdities. CHAP. XXIX.

Erasmus has given the following account of this contest, which shews that the monks had ample cause to complain. "Notwithstanding the intense cold," says that ingenious writer, "the war against idolatry continues to rage with increasing heat. The reformers have already abolished the mass, and various other religious ceremonies; yet they do nothing themselves but preach, and sing psalms. The nuns and monks are constrained to lay aside their habit, or to quit the city, but hitherto no tumults have ensued, nor has any blood been shed*." In another passage he adds, with more wit than decency, "They have treated the saints and crucifixes in so contemptuous a manner, that it is wonderful no miracle should have been wrought in their defence; especially since saints, in former times,

* Jortin's Erasmus, I. 428.

"were

CHAP. XXIX. "were not so remarkable for forbearance, "but were roused to resentment by slighter "provocations than these*."

The merited reputation of Zuingle, however, protected him from the machinations of bigotry, nor would the civil tribunals listen to the complaints of his enemies. But the ecclesiastical courts stood ever open to whispers and delations, which they received with ungenerous avidity.

Induced by repeated solicitations, the bishop of Constance at length issued a monitory, to warn the clergy against the dangers of innovation, and to recommend in particular to the chapter of Zuric to conform implicitly to the papal and imperial decrees, issued against Luther and his followers*.

Confident in the resources of an enlightened mind, and intimately persuaded that he was defending the cause of truth, Zuingle desired to submit the question to an impartial discussion. Nor was he of a temper to be awed by the power or the me-

* Id. ib. † Hottinger, Hist. der Ref.

naces

naces of any adversary. He accordingly replied to the metropolitan in a strain of temperate firmness, which did equal credit to his understanding and to his heart*. From this moment a literary warfare commenced. Disquisitions and treatises were daily issuing from the presses of Zuric, Geneva, and Bâle, in the latter of which cities, the family of Froben had eminently distinguished itself for various improvements in typography.

It is an evil for which no effectual remedy will be found, so long as interest and reason continue at variance, that in the discussion of all theological questions, the established church will rather endeavour to silence their opponents by authority, than to convince them by argument. A spirit of intolerance is, perhaps, the necessary consequence of a state-religion. Dignities and emoluments are exclusively on the side of the orthodox; and few are to be met with, even among the servants of Christ, who are sufficiently disinterested,

* Id. ib.

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to relinquish splendour and luxury for the sake of truth.

1523. The controversy grew more animated in proportion as the inquiry was extended. Fresh combatants entered the lists, who treated each other with all the rancor proverbially and disgracefully peculiar to theological contests. Desirous, if possible, to mitigate the asperity of the contending parties, the government appointed a public conference to be held at Zuric, where the divines of both communions were invited by amicable discussion to decide their quarrel.

No proposal could have been more agreeable to the protestants, who, proud of their literary superiority, flattered themselves to obtain an easy victory over the orthodox dullness of their opponents. The catholics, on the contrary, were so strongly impressed with the conviction of their own weakness, that they would gladly have avoided the encounter, provided they could have done it, without incurring the imputation of distrusting their asserted infallibility.

Zuingle

Zuingle, Hoffman, Leo Judas, and Wagner, were selected as the champions of the reformed religion.* With an air of anticipated triumph, they demanded of their antagonists, "whether, in matters of faith, any authority was equal to that of the scriptures?" This question was highly perplexing; to reply in the affirmative would have been flagrant audacity; and an imprudent negative overturned in a moment, the stately fabric of papal imposture. CHAP. XXIX.

The reformers proceeded to inquire, "For what reason a book, which had been traced by the finger of God as a guide for human conduct, should be anxiously concealed from the eye of mankind?"

Their triumph was again complete; and they defied their adversaries "to point to a single passage in the gospels, by which the adoration of images was enjoined, or which conferred upon the bishop of Rome the divine privilege of dispensing pardon to the most atrocious offender."

* Hottinger, 109—115.

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"If Jesus," said they, "be in reality "the redeemer of mankind, what can be "more absurd than to address supplica- "tions to any other power; or to imagine "that the compassion of Him, who created "all things, and to whom all things be- "long, can be purchased by the contemp- "tible bribe of a mite of brass, or of a "mountain of gold."

Adverting to the absurdity of Transubstantiation, they demonstrated the folly of admitting a continual succession of Miracles, which the testimony of our senses was alone effectually able to contradict. They insisted likewise upon the absurdity of addressing heaven in a language, unknown to the greater part of those by whose lips it was mechanically uttered.*

The unnecessary multiplication of reli-

* Fueslin's Beystrage zum refor. geschic. II. 80. Voltaire supposes the custom of addressing the Deity in an unknown tongue, to have arisen from the various idioms which were brought into Europe by the northern barbarians, and which made it necessary to preserve some general mode of expression, that might be common to every tribe.

gious

gious festivals, and the celibacy of the clergy, afforded ample matter for animadversion. They were proved to be institutions of human invention, unsupported by divine authority, and not less subversive of the principles of morality, than prejudicial to the interests of the state.

Convinced that propositions like these could not be overturned by any arguments, which casuistical cunning could devise, the grand vicar of Constance declined to reply; alleging in excuse, that he had been deputed by the bishop in quality of judge, and could not therefore consent to compromise his dignity, by entering the lists in the subordinate capacity of disputant.* Such an evasion was equivalent to a defeat; and in this light it was considered by the adverse party, although the catholics persisted, with pious obstinacy, in refusing the smallest concessions. So true it is, that a religious controversy can never be decided by argument. From the moment, that the contest assumes a literary

* Ruchat, II. 171.

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form, vanity takes a share in the debate, and becomes a powerful auxiliary to zeal. To deviate, in the minutest trifle from ancient precedent, is regarded as derogatory to personal reputation; and though divines may have sometimes relaxed their energy in the defence of heaven, there never yet existed one, who would acknowledge a rival to be wiser or more learned than himself.

The triumphal issue of this important conference encouraged the government of Zuric to introduce various changes in the public worship, which evinced a decided preference for the new communion, and prepared the way for a total separation from the church of Rome.*

Of the deplorable state of degradation and ignorance, to which the inferior clergy were reduced, some idea may be formed from the humble remonstrance of a village-priest, who excused himself, for not having complied with a senatorial decree, by which all the ecclesiastics of the canton of Zuric

* Id. ib.

were

were directed to study the Holy Scriptures. CHAP. XXIX.
"Not all the revenues of his benefice "would be sufficient," he said, "to pur-"chase so rare and so valuable a book."*

The example of Zuric was soon followed by several other cantons, and conferences were held in different towns, which generally terminated in favour of the protestants. Such, indeed, was the result to be expected. The evangelical preachers, with indefatigable industry and primitive piety as their allies, were internally convinced that they were defending the cause of truth. On the side of their adversaries, little science was to be found. Accustomed to regard their tenets as orthodox, they had never troubled themselves to examine the principles, upon which they rested. Without application or learning, in support of corruption, of simony, and of idolatry, against the united efforts of enlightened reason, and rational religion, what could they encounter but confusion and defeat.

* Id. ib.

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Notwithstanding the remonstrances of the established church, the senate of Berne granted permission to the votaries of celibacy to quit their retreats; although as yet they took no farther steps toward promoting the new communion. The reformed religion was soon afterward established at Bâle, Bienne, and Shaffhausen. Zuric, however, may justly be regarded as the central point, whence the rays of truth diverged. With a spirit of moderation, not very common in religious disputes, the executive government attempted to curb the too ardent zeal of enthusiasm, while under the turbulent impulse of democracy, the legislative body encouraged fanaticism in it's wildest excesses.

When the minds of men are once thoroughly heated by religious fervour, they bid adieu to the dictates of common sense. The generality of the world, incapable of speculative inquiry, not unfrequently attempt to compensate for defective apprehension by acrimonious invective. The success of the reformers created a serious alarm in all the catholic states. Determined,

mined, if possible, to bring back the wanderers within the pale of the church, the partisans of Rome exhorted the disciples of Zuingle not to separate from their ancient allies in a matter of such infinite moment; assuring them of their readiness to concur in any measure, which could tend to ameliorate the ecclesiastical discipline, or to correct the state of clerical morals; and threatening at the same time, to dissolve the union, in case their remonstrances should be neglected, as their ideas of religious duty would not suffer them to maintain an amicable intercourse with avowed and incorrigible heretics.* To this strange address the Zurickers replied, in the language of scripture, that "it was better to obey God, than man."

Little indeed could it be expected that a people, seriously persuaded of the rectitude of the doctrines, which Zuingle taught, should be induced to abandon the path of truth. Considerations, besides, of a political tendency, concurred to sanction

* Mallet, III. 103.

the

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the salutary work. By the abolition of convents, an additional revenue accrued to the republic, which was meritoriously applied to charitable uses. Hospitals and schools were endowed with those funds, which had been formerly squandered in the support of luxurious indolence, and unprofitable devotion. This might honestly be called 'a work of regeneration.'*

Ceremony after ceremony was abolished, and the line of demarcation between the two communions for ever traced. The mouldering bones of saints and martyrs were removed from their sculptured cases, to be consigned, with greater propriety, to their native dust. The monastic orders were dissolved; and finally by the abolition of the mass, a way was prepared for the introduction of the more rational rites of the protestant church.†

It has been urged in disparagement of the reformers, that they were governed by no fixed and regular principles, but proceeded onward, as passion, vanity, or in-

* Id. ib. † Hottinger, 135.

terest

terest impelled. The same objection will apply, with equal propriety, to almost every political institution. It would be ridiculous to suppose, in any country, that the machine of government, curious and complicated as it has become, attained at once, by the magic force of creative genius, to it's full maturity; starting, like another Pallas, in the complete enjoyment of strength and beauty, from the brain of the Thunderer. Could we figure to ourselves an assembly of philosophers seriously devoting their learned labours to the formation of a constitution for the benefit of their fellow-men, their system would probably be ill adapted to the wants and prejudices of society; even supposing the contrivers to be totally exempt from every noxious passion; which is so closely interwoven in the delicate texture of human infirmity. But should pride or ambition find their way into the heart, nothing could possibly arise out of their interested and mis-directed efforts, but desperate experiment, enthusiastic folly, and chaotic confusion.

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It is by trial alone that we discover the advantages or inconveniences of every establishment; and are taught to correct the mistakes, to which error or inexperience may have given birth. By repeated failures we attain to perfection. But a perfect government, as history will vouch, has been hitherto a chimerical pursuit. For the laws and institutions, adapted to the situation of a country during the virtuous struggles of it's infancy or the triumphs of it's ripened glory may be totally unsuitable to the period of it's decline and it's decay. Amidst the revolutions, gradually produced in the opinions, the wealth, and the power of nations, correspondent changes become necessary, both in their religious and their civil establishment.

While the spirit of theological inquiry was making these rapid strides, the spirit of charity was by no means equally active. It is frequently the lot of well-intentioned men, to become the authors of infinite mischief. By their imprudent attempts to conciliate contending factions, they widen

widen the breach. It was thus in Switzerland. Repeated conferences took place between the catholic and the protestant divines; but whatever may have been the sentiments with which the disputants met, they separated with feelings very different from those which are inculcated by the gospel of Christ. For of such strange materials is the heart of man composed, that not content with shaping his own religious creed as reason and conscience appear to prescribe, he pretends with insufferable tyranny to model the opinions of others by those which he has adopted for himself. Hence the world has been deluged by calamities, which the insidious pen of modern philosophy has artfully attributed to the influence of Christ. As reasonably might they impute the convulsions of nature to a radical defect in the original construction of the universe. CHAP. XXIX.

It must also be recollected, that at this memorable period, so pregnant with surprising events, the Helvetic people retained a strong impression of their ancient barbarism; and under the impulse

of

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of fanaticism, were capable of every excess. The novelty of the doctrines, offered to their consideration, could not fail of exciting a violent ferment in the minds of men unpractised in the arts of disputation, inured from their infancy to camps and bloodshed, and from natural ferocity still farther soured by a gloomy mixture of pride and enthusiasm. From persons of this description no condescension for inveterate prejudices, no rational indulgences, no conciliating compromises could be expected. To yield to the doubts, or perplexities, of a fellow-creature, was a weakness unbecoming the dignified character of patriots and theologians; and though the scriptures were continually searched for precedents and authorities in support of an equivocal tenet, the splendid precept of universal charity seemed totally overlooked in the inquiry.

Among the cities of Helvetia, which embraced the Reformation, none have attained to greater celebrity than Geneva. The favourite residence of Calvin, it claimed respect as the metropolis of a sect, which

which divided the opinions of protestant Europe; and was not less eminent at this period for purity of morals, than it afterward became, as the seat of commerce, and of freedom, and of literature*.

Before the sixteenth century, the history of Geneva has little connection with that of the Helvetic republics. We shall therefore merely notice it's origin as the capital of the Allobroges. Nor shall we dwell upon the changes, which it underwent, while successively subject to the dominion of the Romans, the Burgundians, and the Franks. Enriched by the patronage of Charlemagne, it became a second time dependant on the throne of Burgundy, and passed with the ruins of that transient power, under the precarious authority of the German emperors. It may be proper to add, that during that melancholy age of ignorance and anarchy, the bishop availed himself of the general confusion, to unite the prerogatives of civil to

* In our account of Geneva, we have followed Spon and Mallet.

those

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those of ecclesiastical sovereignty. This usurpation was subsequently confirmed by an imperial decree, and legalised by the title of prince*.

We should entertain however a very erroneous idea of the episcopal power, were we to suppose it subject to no control. Though nominally dependent on the emperor alone, the episcopal dignity was in fact conferred by public suffrage; the right of election being jointly vested in the chapter and the citizens. Other causes concurred to limit the authority of the bishop.

The counts of Geneva were anciently only civil officers, exercising a limited jurisdiction, in the name and during the pleasure of the emperor. In process of time, they assumed all the privileges of the great feudal barons, contending with the prelates for civil pre-eminence. The struggle was highly favourable to the establishment of municipal franchises; and we accordingly find that the people, by

* Mallet, III. 190.

siding

siding prudently with the weaker party, gradually extended their own immunities, till they ultimately established a constitution essentially founded on the principles of democracy. The government still formally administered in the name of the bishop, became virtually vested in the hands of the magistrates *, who were elected annually by the people. Upon many important points also, the people were regularly consulted. No alliance could be contracted, no war undertaken, nor any tax imposed, unless previously sanctioned by popular approbation. These valuable rights, originally extorted from timidity, were at length solemnly ratified by Ademar Fabri, who was raised to the episcopal see in 1385. During his administration, a line of demarcation was finally drawn between the prerogatives of the bishop, and the privileges of the people. The right of coining money, one of the most essential marks of sovereignty, was vested in the

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* The magistrates consisted of a treasurer, four syndics, and twenty counsellors. Id. ib. 121.

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mitred prince, but the administration of justice was no longer left subject to his prejudices or his caprice. From this period Geneva can be regarded in no other light than that of an Imperial City, subjected as such to the jurisdiction of the emperor, but with all the substantial rights of sovereignty, divided between the bishop and the citizens*.

The princes of the House of Savoy, who were already masters of the adjacent country, beheld the riches and independence of Geneva with a jealous eye, and nourished the ambitious hope of one day reducing it under their dominion. Amadeus V. (upon whom gratitude and admiration bestowed the appellation of 'Great') appears however to have been the first, who formed any regular plan of conquest. In return for some important services, he received from the bishop the modest title of "Vidame;" a title expressly conferred upon him, as vassal of the episcopal see, and involving of course the indispensable con-

* Id. ib. 192.

dition

dition of homage. But restrictions of this nature are of little value, unless accompanied with power to enforce their execution. Accordingly we find the vassals engaged in continual quarrels with their liege lords, and even assuming a tone of superiority in most political transactions*. CHAP. XXIX.

Succeeding princes adhered with constancy to the same ingenious system. In 1401, Amadeus VIII. purchased some estates belonging to the ancient counts, and with them various adjunct claims, which became dangerous to liberty, the moment they were combined with political force. The strange effects of human inconstancy were perhaps never more strikingly exemplified, than in the incongruous actions of this extraordinary man†. Under the various characters of sovereign, hermit, and pontiff, he manifested an unbounded eagerness for popular applause, and assumed by turns the most contradictory qualities, as caprice or vanity suggested. No sooner had he obtained the

* Spon, II. † Guichenon, I. 478.

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title of 'Duke,' than he proposed to the bishop of Geneva to surrender to him all his civil prerogatives, and is said to have procured a bull from Rome, to authorise this collusive transfer. But the conscientious prelate could not be persuaded, that so important a change could be legally effected, without the consent of those, whose interests were most nearly concerned in the bargain. A general assembly was in consequence convened, in which the proposal was submitted to the consideration of the people.

At this meeting resolutions were unanimously passed, which merit particular attention, as evincing that a considerable progress had been already made toward establishing a free constitution. "For the term "of four hundred years, during which Ge- "neva had been subject to an ecclesiastical "prince, the citizens acknowledged them- "selves to have enjoyed as large a portion "of the blessings of providence, as was "consistent with the imperfections of mor- "tality. Impressed with a grateful sense "of this obligation, they desired to con-

"tinue

" tinue under the same lenient sway. " They therefore positively declared, that " no temptation should induce them to " yield to a foreign yoke, though they " were resolved to submit to the juris- " diction of their bishops, so long as it " was exercised with moderation and jus- " tice*." An instrument was immediately drawn and ratified by the bishop, expressly enacting, that no alteration should henceforth be attempted in the constitution of Geneva, without the mutual consent of the prelate and the citizens†.

Nothing now appeared wanting for the complete establishment of freedom, except the title of an 'Imperial City;' and this distinction was shortly afterward obtained from the emperor Sigismond. His diploma placed the city of Geneva under the sheltering wing of the Germanic eagle; and, as a natural consequence of this protection, it was expressly forbidden to all princes and states, but particularly to

* Mallet, III. 194. † Id. Ib.

CHAP. XXIX. Amadeus duke of Savoy, to infringe it's rights, or to invade it's territory.

The decrees of a sovereign, whose edicts were founded rather upon prescription than upon power, were little calculated to restrain the enterprises of ambition. Adhering faithfully to the example of Amadeus, his successors were almost continually occupied in projects for subverting the liberties of Geneva. By artifices and threats, they occasionally succeeded in raising their dependents to the episcopal see, and thus gradually established a dangerous influence among the different orders of citizens*.

In 1504, John, a bastard of the House of Savoy, was elected bishop. Not less deformed in body than in mind, this odious sycophant squandered his revenues in licentious pleasures, till he reduced himself to a state of ignominious dependence on the bounty of Charles III. Impatient of restraint, and disdaining the tardy progress of intrigue, that aspiring prince had

* Id. ib. 196.

recourse

recourse to measures, which by their premature violence defeated his end. His undisguised attack upon the liberties of Geneva awakened the jealousy of the republican party. Resolving to deliver himself from all farther trouble by the sword of perverted justice, he ordered men, distinguished for every social virtue, to be dragged before corrupt tribunals, and condemned to arbitrary punishments. At other times scorning even to assume the mask of decency, he entered the city with an armed force, and without deigning to employ the prostituted forms of judicial murder, sentenced the firmest patriots to the scaffold *.

The citizens at length ventured to remonstrate. But the language of supplication was little calculated to affect his callous heart. He delivered a sealed paper to the deputies, telling them, that it contained his final resolution, which he expected them to subscribe, without presuming even to examine it's contents.

* Id. ib.

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Every class was now seized with consternation; but although they keenly felt the indignity, they were totally destitute of that noble firmness, which should have prompted them to encounter every possible danger, rather than consent to their own dishonour *.

Among the youth of Geneva, Berthelier had acquired a just ascendancy by those brilliant qualities, which are formed to shine amidst civil commotions. By his bold and systematical opposition, he had attracted the hatred of the Duke, and was compelled, after enduring every species of persecution, to save himself by a precipitate flight. Convinced that in her present defenceless state, Geneva must fall an easy prey, he turned his eyes towards federative Helvetia, as the surest bulwark of expiring freedom. Having obtained the citizenship of Friburg, and acquired considerable influence with the leading men, he employed his credit in

* Spon. I. 107.

promoting

promoting an alliance between that city and his native country. This project, was vehemently opposed by the ducal party, who, in derision of their base servility, were stigmatized with the opprobrious names of *Mamelukes*, while the partisans of liberty were distinguished by the title of *eidgenossen* (confederated by oath,) from whence it is probable that, by a corrupt pronunciation, the appellation of *Hugenots* was derived. Notwithstanding the interested resistance of an abandoned faction, the treaty was ratified in an assembly with the warmest demonstrations of joy, when a decree was passed, absolving Berthelier from every accusation. CHAP. XXIX.

Having ineffectually exerted all the powers of persuasion and terror to induce the Genevois to dissolve the alliance with Friburg, Charles finally resolved to have recourse to arms; and actually assembled an army upon the frontiers, before his enemies were apprized of their danger. So that the first intimation which they received of the duke's hostile intentions, was brought by a herald,

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herald. Presenting himself unexpectedly before the magistrates, he commanded them to prepare for the reception of his master; who was coming at the head of ten thousand veterans, to reduce the contumacious to a proper sense of their duty.

Surprized, but not disconcerted, at the insolent address, the chief syndic replied with unaffected dignity, "that the purport of his commission was scarce less "offensive, than the mode in which it was "delivered. We utterly disclaim," continued he, "every idea of subjection to "the duke of Savoy. To the bishop, and "council, belongs the administration of "justice, by the established constitution "of Geneva. To that constitution we "have sworn obedience, and while life remains we will adhere to the oath."

No sooner had the intrepid magistrate concluded his harangue, than the herald departed with strong indications of anger. The citizens immediately flew to arms, and began to fortify the town. But no exertions of courage could compensate for the

the total defect of military skill, or balance the inherent weakness that arose from domestic dissensions. Resolved to push on the siege with unabating vigor, the ducal army was so advantageously posted, that every attempt of the confederates to relieve the town must be attended with imminent risk. Availing themselves of the general consternation, the Mamalukes urged the policy of unconditional submission, as their last and only resort. At their instigation the gates were opened; when Charles entering the city in all the parade of conquest, disarmed the inhabitants, deposed the magistrates, and punished Berthelier.

Meanwhile the senate of Friburg was not inactive, but having made an irruption into the Pais de Vaud, they carried off several of the nobility, as hostages for the safety of Geneva. This activity convinced the duke of the necessity of adopting a more lenient system; and a negociation was accordingly set on foot, which led to a deceitful compromise, by which Charles

CHAP. XXIX. Charles consented to withdraw his army, provided the objectionable alliance was dissolved.

This respite, however, was of short duration; for no sooner had the republicans evacuated the Pais de Vaud, than the duke again returned, for the express purpose, (as he himself declared) of redressing grievances and restoring tranquillity. Giving unbounded scope to his relentless temper, he now exercised the most oppressive tyranny without control. Accusations the most improbable were listened to with avidity, and received as positive proofs; while imprisonment, torture, and death were daily inflicted, without the smallest regard for age, or rank, or sex.

The destruction of Geneva now appeared inevitable, and every prospect of emancipation was lost, when the death of the bishop inspired the patriots with better hopes. His successor was a man of too elevated a mind to lend his name to the enormities of despotism, though he wanted energy to assert his own independence.

The

The duke, however, was not to be restrained by motives of delicacy, but stedfastly persevered in the career of injustice, persuaded that by severity he should ultimately accomplish his nefarious purpose. Hence during the six following years, the annals of Geneva present a cheerless picture of anarchy, and bloodshed; in which the sufferings of individuals claim our warmest sympathy, though they exhibit none of those splendid achievements which excite our admiration.

During this disastrous period, Charles occasionally resided at Geneva; till the fatal issue of the battle of Pavia having annihilated for a time the resources of France, a scene more attractive directed his attention to another quarter. Allured by the seducing prospect, he abandoned Geneva, to court the favor of the victorious emperor, as a more permanent source of aggrandisement. No longer confining 1526.
themselves to clandestine murmurs, the patriots now openly asserted their constitutional rights, and renewed their alliance with Friburg.

The

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The first use that was made of their liberty was to banish the partisans of Savoy, after sentencing the most obnoxious to an ignominious death. This change of situation produced a striking change in the national character. With the exhilarating sentiment of independence, arose the spirit requisite to defend it. The citizens now ventured by desultory incursions to lay waste the adjacent country, under pretext that the nobles had afforded an asylum to the exiled Mamalukes. Till the duke, being at length convinced by repeated miscarriages, that it was in vain to attempt the subjugation of a state, which now reposed on a solid basis, consented
1530. to a treaty, the conditions of which were highly favourable to the rising liberties of Geneva.

The rapid progress of the reformation, induced the catholics to convene an ecclesiastical synod at Baden, at which the divines of both communions were invited to attend. The challenge was accepted with joy, and
1526. the profoundest theologians deputed. Zu-

ric

ric alone, of all the Helvetic states, declined the controversy, as the steps already taken were too decisive to admit of any compromise; and Zuingle, in consequence, being absent, the chief direction of this wordy war devolved upon Oecolampadius and Haller. Disputes ran high, and according to ancient precedent, were more remarkable for acrimony than argument. Each party too, as is usually the case, laid claim to victory; and with more appearance of justice than is common in such situations. For though reason and argument were indisputably on the side of the protestants, their opponents so far carried their point, as to obtain a decree prohibiting all innovations in religion. By what methods this edict was procured, it is not our business to inquire; though, like most other provisions, that are intended to combat the passions and prejudices of mankind, it failed of the desired effect, since in defiance of every penalty, the protestant clergy continued to preach with increasing reputation and zeal. Such a spirit of to-

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leration had gone abroad, that in many places both religions were publicly exercised without exciting the smallest confusion. Valentine Tschudi, a parochial priest, from an earnest desire of accommodating his doctrine to every sect of christians, on a philosophical indifference for religion, agreed to administer divine service alternately according to each communion, and consequently, on one Sunday, he preached the gospel in the vulgar tongue, and celebrated mass on the succeeding sabbath*. Such instances of moderation, during the first ferment of proselitism, are rarely found. Persecution and torture are the weapons commonly resorted to by contending sects. The temples of the Most High are polluted with blood, and human victims sacrificed on the altar of charity.

The example of the preacher operated with extensive influence on his little flock, and taught them, that to differ in speculative opinions, was no valid cause for hatred; but that a man might offer up his humble petitions at the throne of grace,

* Meister.

as

as conscience directed, without thinking it necessary to murder his neighbour, because he believed that processions and images were more grateful to the Almighty, than the evangelical simplicity of the reformed rites. CHAP. XXIX.

But this delightful spectacle of fraternal love was too repugnant to the proud and intolerant temper of the Roman clergy, to serve as a precedent for imitation. Hurried away by the blind impulse of bigotry, they embraced the fatal resolution of entering into a league for the avowed purpose of protecting the catholic faith. This unfortunate step gave a deadly wound to the confederacy, by laying the foundation of a schism, which was never completely healed.

While under the virtuous influence of its eloquent apostle, Zuric effected a total separation from the papal see; the five democratic cantons were governed entirely by the narrow counsels of bigotry. Berne however wisely steered a middle course. Yet prudence so uncommon was insuffi-

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cient to preserve the public tranquillity. For while the higher classes evinced a strong predilection for the protestant tenets, the lower orders adhered with invincible obstinacy to the ancient communion. Hence decree succeeded to decree, always inconsequent, frequently contradictory*. Immediately after the termination of the conference at Baden, a resolution was passed, declaring the catholic religion to be that of the state; and Haller received positive injunctions to conform implicitly to the ritual of Rome. But that illustrious divine, who was blest with a spirit too independent to model it's religious creed according to any standard, except that of conscience, immediately resigned his benefice; and by this disinterested action acquired an increase of popularity, that amply compensated for the loss of professional emolument†.

It is the destiny of violence to defeat it's object, by the very methods employed to

* Mallet, III, 110. † Stettler, I. 642.

promote

promote it. The same spirit of fanaticism which had prompted the democratic cantons to embrace a system of coercion, inspired them with the resolution of breaking off all connection with the protestant cantons, unless they immediately consented to return within the pale of the church *. This determination was evidently calculated to raise fresh obstacles in the way of reconciliation, and by rendering pride the auxiliary of zeal, it decided the contest in favour of the reformation. CHAP. XXIX.

No sooner were the people prepared for the change, than the senate appointed a conference, in order to ascertain the public judgments upon the two religions †. Desirous of giving solemnity to the debate, invitations were sent to all the catholic bishops, requesting them to attend, with the most learned divines of their party. But previous to the appointed day, an imperial rescript prohi- 1528.

* Stettler, ib. 667. † Mallet, III. 123.

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bited the prelates from sanctioning by their presence, that heretical assembly. This precaution was by no means superfluous, as every thing was carried in favour of the new sect, and various propositions established, as the basis for a total alteration in the service and discipline of the church*.

A triumph so decisive on the side of the protestants could not fail to incense the opposite party. With holy indignation they beheld swarms of missionaries proclaiming the downfal of antichrist, and recommending the destruction of idolatry. The intemperate fervour of these wild fanatics, (many of whom offered the protection of the protestant governments, to all who should renounce the religion of their ancestors,) afforded a pretext to the democratic cantons to break off all communication with Berne and Zuric. However necessary this step might appear as a preservative against the contagion of

* Ruchat, II.

innovation,

innovation, it argued a want of confidence on the part of the magistrates, that it was highly impolitic to disclose. The religion, or government, that shrinks from investigation, must be conscious of some secret defect. To estimate the wisdom of any public measure, no juster criterion can be adopted, than merely to examine the conduct of those by whom it is proposed. The man of integrity and genius, disdains the arts of intrigue, while the quibbling politician envelops himself in mystery, and pleads prescription and antiquity in palliation of fraud and folly. CHAP. XXIX.

It is difficult for men, who live in this polished age to estimate the power of religious prejudice on minds enflamed with enthusiasm, and unadorned by the science of philosophy, and the more important study of the world *. Accustomed to yield im-

* Recent events have unfortunately shown that there is no period so enlightened, in which men may not be found blind enough to sacrifice the honour, the riches, and even the liberties of their country to the narrow prejudices of bigotry.

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plicit obedience to his spiritual director in every article of faith, the rude inhabitant of the forest cantons was wedded to his hereditary belief, by the united influence of ignorance and pride. Though prepared to march into the very mouth of a cannon with unshaken nerves, he was utterly destitute of that intellectual courage, which enables the philosopher to burst the shackles of prejudice, though rivetted by the authority of ages. Imperial rescripts, and pontifical decrees, bewildered his unlettered brain. Feeling himself incapable of mental exertion, he turned in despair to his ghostly father for counsel and consolation, who instead of administering peace to his distempered conscience, upbraided him with want of confidence, and commanded him in a tone of authority, that precluded all farther discussion, to believe and tremble. He was, at the same time assured, that to rescue his deluded brethren from heresy and perdition, was the most acceptable sacrifice, which piety could offer

offer at the throne of mercy; and that in the meritorious attempt, he was bound to proceed with steady zeal, disregarding every feeling which perverted reason might insidiously decorate with the prostituted title of humanity. CHAP. XXIX.

Under such circumstances, it was natural for fanaticism to invoke the assistance of the civil arm. Hence, the tenets of the reformers, were invariably combated with fire and sword. Nor was misguided zeal the only motive which inspired those hateful atrocities; mistaken notions of worldly policy gave a stimulus to bigotry, by inspiring a persuasion that the influence of the protestants, in temporal concerns, would keep pace with their spiritual success*.

The 'Evangelical League' (as it is affectedly called by the protestants) consisted of the cantons of Berne, Zuric, and Bâle. 1529.
This association, though the source of bitter jealousies, was, in fact, little more

* Ruchat, II. 5

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than a formal renewal of the ancient bond. Yet it served as a pretext for the catholic cantons to strengthen their union by fresh engagements, for the avowed purpose of preserving religion in all its purity*.

Hitherto the friends of the reformation had found little leisure for private controversy; but scarcely was the new communion established by law, before a dispute arose between Luther and Zuingle, concerning the nature of Christ's presence in the Eucharist. For though the former rejected the absurd doctrine of transubstantiation, yet he was unable so entirely to divest himself of his early prejudices as to consider that holy institution in it's proper light, a typical commemoration of the Redeemer's death. This latter opinion was zealously maintained by Zuingle. A controversy like this, could not fail of attracting universal attention, in an age, when no topics were so fashionable as those

* Mallet, III. 180.

of

of theology. But as neither party seemed inclined to yield, a schism appeared to be unavoidable. CHAP. XXIX.

Desirous of accommodating the difference by mutual concessions, the landgrave of Hesse invited the disputants to a public conference at Marpurg *. Various points were there discussed, in which the divines of Switzerland differed essentially from those of Saxony; and which Luther, accordingly, with his characteristic violence, did not hesitate to pronounce heretical.

The debate was protracted during four days, in presence of the langrave; but was more remarkable for the display of theological erudition, than of the milder virtues of christianity. Every argument being at length exhausted, the polemics separated with an unshaken confidence in their own opinions, though they agreed from motives of personal esteem, to a religious truce, consenting to tolerate each other's

* Mallet, II. 145 Mosheim, 475.

errors,

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errors, and leaving to time, and mature reflection to inspire the unbiassed judgment essential to such mysterious discussions.

CHAP-

CHAPTER XXX.

War declared between Zuric and the Catholic League—Mediation of the Neutral Cantons—Farel begins to preach.—John of Medicis—Civil War recommences—Protestants defeated—Death of Zuingle.

CHAP. XXX.

THAT the establishment of the protestant religion was highly beneficial to the advancement of literature, is a fact, which the most strenuous partisans of the church of Rome no longer hesitate to acknowledge. Till then the qualifications for holy orders were attained without previous exertion. But Zuingle required more essential qualifications than the technical repetition of a few Latin prayers, or the mechanical execution of certain bodily contorsions. The necessity of combating received opinions excited a spirit of inquiry, highly favourable to the culture of intellect;

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intellect; and led men to recur to better sources of information, than those which they had hitherto consulted. Hence, the senseless jargon of scholastic logic was no longer regarded as the perfection of science. Even monastic indolence was roused from her slumbers, and began to blush at her own incapacity. Goaded on by a laudable feeling, the monks applied with ardor to classical studies. Hence in after times, the rays of science have frequently burst from the cells of a cloister*.

Much also was gained in favour of morality, from subjecting ecclesiastical delinquents to civil tribunals, and establishing a system of equal justice for the clergy and the laity. But nothing proved so conducive to the general happiness of society, as the marriage of the priests; which by closely uniting them with the other classes of citizens, transformed them from insulated beings, into useful members of the community.

* Jortin's Life of Erasmus.

Though

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Though supported on both sides with an acrimony, by no means consistent with the benign spirit of christianity, the contest had been hitherto confined to the pen; but the fatal moment approached, when an appeal was to be made to the sword. From the formation of the evangelical league, the protestant cantons were no longer regarded by the catholics in the light of friends. Scarcely any intercourse subsisted between them; nor was it difficult to foresee that the slightest provocation would serve as a signal for war.

The death of the abbot of St. Gal having afforded the pious hope of rescuing another member from the fetters of Antichrist, a plan was formed by the magistrates of Zuric and Glaris, for the secularization of that wealthy abbey. This project was opposed with more warmth than prudence, by the cantons of Schweitz and Lucerne; who as co-advocates, thought themselves bound to protect the ecclesiastical domains. Not content with resisting the attempt by legal methods, they not only prohibited

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prohibited the exercise of the reformed religion, in all the districts where they possessed a joint jurisdiction, but even ventured to condemn a parish priest to the flames, for having presumed to address the Almighty, in a language which his parishioners understood.

No sooner was the new abbot elected, than he was informed by the government of Zuric, that they would never acknowledge the validity of his election, till he was able to shew, by scriptural proofs, that monastic institutions were agreeable to the will of God. Surprised at a message, which virtually abrogated his temporal power, he produced imperial diplomas, and papal bulls, with various national acts, by which his authority was recognised by those very cantons, which now opposed his elevation. Having discovered, however, that no arguments could avail, when examined through the medium of prejudice, he retired to Bregentz, with all his treasures.

By the Helvetic constitution it was enacted,

enacted, that each canton, in rotation, should nominate a bailiff, for the government of those districts, which were held in common by the whole confederacy. CHAP. XXX.

Baden was in this predicament, and the nomination, belonged to Unterwalden. But the inhabitants being principally converts to the protestant tenets, refused to obey the authority of a magistrate, whose faith was different from their own. Incensed at this unexpected repulse, which they did not fail to attribute to the intrigues of Zuingle, the catholic league prepared to assert their right by arms, and began to act with so much vigour, that the affrighted inhabitants applied to Zuric for protection. This opportunity was too seducing for avidity to neglect; for amid the contests of theology, the gains of commerce, and the aggrandisement of the state were never forgotten. A detachment of troops was accordingly sent to take possession of Bremgarten, and the rich abbey of Muri, posts of infinite importance in case of a rupture. A manifesto

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nifesto was also issued, accusing the catholics of violence and injustice.

This important step appears to have been taken in concert with Berne, as the senate was no sooner apprised of it, than they ordered the militia to be embodied. Nor was the activity of the catholics less conspicuous. Having surprised Rapperswyl, they collected their forces in an advantageous position at Baar. Alarmed at the vicinity of an enterprising foe, the Zurickers proposed, in a council of war, to attack them in their entrenchments. But this hardy project was over-ruled by the prudence of their allies, who preferred the more uncertain path of negociation. The neutral cantons had been indefatigable in their endeavors to effect a reconciliation; an attempt in which they were seconded, with such persuasive eloquence, by the virtuous Ably, landamman of Glaris, that a treaty was concluded on the following conditions: 1st, "That no person should henceforth be molested on account of his religious tenets; but

but that in the bailiwics, subject to the joint jurisdiction of several cantons, every community should be left at liberty to establish that mode of worship, which the majority of it's members should prefer; and this to be determined by the plurality of votes." 2dly, "That the five cantons should renounce the alliance, which they had recently contracted with the imperial court;" and lastly, (in the true spirit of Helvetic policy), "That Berne should be indemnified by Unterwalden for the necessary expences of the war*."

Nothing could be more undecided than the public opinion respecting religion. Even in private families the seeds of discord had taken root, and totally destroyed the delightful harmony which constitutes the charm of domestic life. In this state of agitation, little hope was entertained of permanent tranquillity. Yet it was evidently for the advantage of the protestants to postpone the conflict, as their proselytes

* Ruchat, II. 528.

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augmented rapidly; but in great political transactions, how few there are, even among those who enjoy the reputation of wisdom, who deign to consult any monitor, except passion, or caprice!

The different communities being summoned to decide the momentous question of religion, a great majority appeared in favor of the new communion. It must not however, be supposed, that such important changes could be carried into execution without occasional tumults. In the canton of Soleure, the contending sectaries came frequently to blows; and an infatuated multitude, led on by fanatic priests planted artillery against a house, where the protestants were assembled for divine worship, and would probably have massacred the whole congregation, had not the avoyer Wengi, with patriotic self-devotion placed himself before the mouth of the cannon, declaring, "that he would either appease the storm, or fall the first victim of its fury." Awed by his presence, the wild enthusiasts withdrew in silent confusion,

confusion, and a temporary calm was restored*. CHAP. XXX.

In the southern parts of Helvetia, where the French language was generally spoken, the rapid progress of the reformation must, in great measure, be ascribed to the zeal and perseverance of Farel. Farel was descended from a noble family in Dauphiny, and being sent to the university of Paris, applied himself with success to the Greek and Hebrew tongues†.

Having imbibed the doctrines of the reformation at an early period, he began

* Stettler, II.

† If we may be allowed to judge of the proficiency of the scholar from the capacity of the teachers, we shall form no high idea of his talents. Erasmus complains that there was only one professor at Paris, who even pretended to a knowledge of Greek, and that he was both unwilling and unable to give him any instructions. *Lutetiæ tantum unus, Georgius Hermonymus, Græce balbutiebat, sed talis ut neque potuisset docere, si voluisset; nec voluisset, si potuisset.* Jortin's Erasmus, III. 108 This remark is confirmed by Voltaire, who says, that before the reign of Francis I. there was not a single person in France able to read the Greek characters. Hist. Univ.

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to preach them, at Meaux, with all the earnestness of recent conviction. His violent opposition to the established church, embattled against him such a host of enemies, that he was compelled to seek an asylum at Strasburg. He there became acquainted with Zuingle, and Oecolampadius*, who persuaded him to commence his apostolic mission at Montbeliard, in the duchy of Wirtemburg. Elated with success, he wandered through most of the towns in the Pais de Vaud, declaiming against the corruption of the Romish church, in a strain of pious indiscretion†.

The too ardent zeal of the protestant divines afforded a constant source of disquietude to those whose minds were untainted by the fashionable mania of controversial theology. For how could it be

* Erasmus describes Farel as a man intoxicated with the rage of reform, and possessing all the qualifications necessary for a field preacher; viz. a voice of thunder, which no noise could drown, and a courage that no dangers could intimidate. Jortin, I. 316.

† Vide Bayle.

expected

expected that a people, accustomed to decide the most trifling differences by the sword, should confine themselves to the weapons of intellect, in a dispute, where of all others the intellectual faculties are most sparingly employed.

John dè Medici*, by artifice and intrigue, had attained considerable eminence among the captains of Italy. He was the son of an obscure officer in the customs at Milan; was appointed a page to the reigning duke, and by the arts of insinuation rendered himself so ageeable to his master, that he quickly obtained his unbounded confidence. This rapid exaltation, however, far from satisfying his ambitious temper, served only to open to the aspiring youth views still more elevated. Having entered into a secret correspondence with the French generals, he betrayed to them the most secret councils of the duke. Sforza by means of an intercepted letter, discovered his trea-

* By some historians he is accused of having murdered the chief of the Visconti family, who had rendered himself obnoxious to the duke. Gaillard, III. 216.

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chery and determined to punish him in an exemplary manner. It would, indeed, have been more consistent with the dignity of a sovereign, and the equity of a judge, to have proceeded openly by the forms of law; but the plan adopted by the duke of Milan, was more congenial with the crooked politics of Italy. Medici was sent with a despatch to the governor of Musso, and being informed that it regarded affairs of the highest moment, he resolved to be acquainted with the contents. But on breaking the seal, how great was his astonishment, to find that he was the bearer of a warrant for his own execution. In a mind of an ordinary cast, such a disclosure would have excited no emotion but that of terror; and to have avoided destruction by a precipitate flight would have been it's primary object. But Medici resolved to turn the circumstance to his own advantage. For this purpose he forged a letter to the lieutenant-governor, informing him, of a conspiracy for betraying the fortress into the hands of the French, and directing

directing him to assist his secretary in ar- CHAP. XXX.
resting the delinquent, and naming Medici his successor.

Every thing having succeeded according to his wishes, the traitor found himself in possession of the castle, and of a large sum of money, which he sagaciously employed in corrupting the garrison. No sooner was he assured of their entire devotion, than he ventured to declare himself independent of Sforza.

It was easier, however, to shake off the yoke than to maintain his usurpations without foreign aid. It remained therefore for him to chuse between the French and imperialists; and after mature deliberation, he decided for the latter, resolving to merit the protection of the emperor by some decisive service. Six thousand Grisons at that time served in the armies of France. Could he contrive to remove such powerful auxiliaries from the scene of action, he had every thing to hope from the gratitude of her enemy. His measures were concerted accordingly. By a rapid march,

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he surprised the governor of Chiavenna, as he was riding, amid the romantic vallies that surround the fortress. Having thus secured his prey, he demanded a parley with his wife; and holding a poignard to her husband's breast, allowed her no alternative, but to surrender the castle, or behold the partner of her fondest affections expire instantly before her eyes. In this dilemma, a Roman matron might have preferred the claims of duty to those of love; but fortunately for Medici, the Italian lady was endowed with qualities of a more feminine cast; after having in vain attempted to soften him by tears, she reluctantly consented to open the gates.

To be attacked in the very heart of their territory, was not less alarming than unexpected to the Grison league; and orders were in consequence issued to recal their troops from the Gallic army, which lay encamped before Pavia*. The injunction

* Gaillard, Hist. de François, III. 219.

was

was so peremptory, that it was in vain for the king to solicit the smallest delay, though the fall of Pavia was almost rendered hopeless by their secession. CHAP. XXX.

In return for such meritorious service the fortunate adventurer accordingly received from the grateful emperor the investiture of his usurpations, with the title of count. No sooner was he firmly established in his new domain, than he rendered himself formidable to all his neighbours, by the most daring spirit of enterprise. Ambitious of acquiring renown, and indifferent to the means by which it was obtained, he indulged his soldiers in every excess, thus attaching them to his service by the united influence of gratitude, interest, and affection.

Unable to contend against so enterprizing a foe, the affrighted Grisons applied for succour to the Swiss, who sent such effective succors that they were enabled, after defeating several datachments which guarded the defiles, to lay siege to Musso, where Medici had retreated with his broken army.

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my. The castle was situated on a perpendicular rock, majestically rising from the margin of the lake, and being inaccessible by land, could be reduced by famine alone. Yet in spite of every local advantage, the situation of it's commander was far from secure, as the duke of Milan undertook to blockade it by water, while the Swiss cut off all communications with the adjacent country. Under these circumstances, the genius of Medicis displayed it's transcendant powers. Nothing that stratagem could suggest, or courage undertake, was left untried. When unable to face the enemy in the field, he had recourse to negociation, and having damped their ardor by the prospect of a speedy surrender, he took advantage of their supineness, to destroy their works, and spike their artillery. His bravest troops however being at length worn out with fatigue and sickness, it became necessary to treat in earnest. But with such address did he manage the conference, that he not only obtained an ample pardon, but even extorted

torted a considerable sum from the duke of Milan, as the price of his submission. CHA XXX.

During the siege of Musso, the Helvetic people found little leisure for theological discussions; but no sooner had that fortress capitulated, than they recommenced their disputes with increasing violence.

It was the unhappy destiny of the abbey of St. Gal to be the immediate occasion of all the religious dissensions which interrupted the harmony of the Helvetic confederacy. According to the tenor of an ancient treaty, that monastery was placed under the joint protection of Zuric, Lucerne, Schweitz, and Glaris. Thus, in quality of co-advocates, the reformers found easy access, and inculcated their opinions with such enthusiastic zeal, that the citizens were induced to establish the new communion by a popular decree. Having embraced the evangelical tenets with all the fervour of neophytes, they broke off all intercourse with the catholic cantons. The behaviour of the Zurickers, at this delicate crisis, was by no

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no means exempt from censure, and clearly demonstrates that the most strenuous patrons of religious purity, are not always proof against secular temptations.

The imperfections of human nature have sometimes led the virtuous to assert, "that whatever is essentially good, can never be purchased too dearly, and that provided the end be right, the means are indifferent by which it is attained." This opinion has been productive of infinite mischief to the world. But history and experience teach a different lesson, and shew that theoretical perfection is at best a chimerical pursuit.

To account for the conduct of the reformers in Switzerland, we must recur to a similar principle. Not satisfied with the rapid progress which they made, they had recourse to coercion for the extirpation of an idolatrous worship. The abbot of St. Gal was accordingly informed, that he must either abandon his monastery or embrace a mode of worship, which the united influence of bigotry and pride compelled

compelled him to reject; and in token of his conversion, he was required, to celebrate divine service according to the ritual of the reformed church. Too weak to resist the unjust demand, he sought an asylum at Bregentz. CHAP. XXX.

This imprudent step was regarded by the protestants as equivalent to abdication, and accordingly the senate of Zuric sent commissioners to take possession of the monastic revenues; while the catholic cantons directed their officers to protect the lands and revenues of the abbey, against every aggression. From this concussion of interests occasional tumults arose, which each party affected to consider as an infraction of the treaty, and prepared as such to resent.

Though zealously attached to the doctrines of the reformers, the cantons of Berne and Bâle were less infected with the mania of proselytism, than Zuric and Glaris, and were consequently enabled to examine the question with greater impartiality. Animated with the desire of still

CHAP. XXX. still preserving peace, they remonstrated with their allies, upon the flagrant injustice of their proceedings, exhorting them seriously to reinstate the abbot, upon condition of his granting to his protestant subjects the free exercise of their religion. "The situation of the abbey," they said, "was widely different from that of the "other convents, which were already secularised. The latter, being situated within "the Helvetic territory, were indisputably "subject to whatever regulations the government might think fit to impose. But "to interfere with the administration of an "independent sovereign not only violated "every principle of equity, but would "expose them to the censures of the imperial chamber."* Such was the prudent counsel suggested by their friends; but every admonition was thrown away, as the senate of Zuric continued contemptuously to assert, that the character of a monk was absolutely incompatible with

* Bullinger, Stumpf.

that

that of a sovereign; because the one implied a total seclusion from all worldly concerns, to which the other enjoined a more than common attention. They further declared, "that it would be the excess of "cruelty to abandon men, who implored "their protection, to the mercy of one, "whose profession and principles made "persecution a duty, and whose religion "inculcated the diabolical tenet, that no "faith was to be kept with a heretic*."

Desirous, however, of still preserving appearances, they declared themselves ready to accede to a compromise, on certain conditions. But these were inadmissible, as they degraded the abbot from the rank of an independent sovereign, into the humble vassal of democracy. Anticipating of their proposal, they scarcely waited for an answer, but entered into a negociation with the citizens of St. Gal, for the sale of the abbey†. Meanwhile the revenues were appropriated to charitable uses, a small

* Tscharner, II. 499. † Id. ib.

pittance

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pittance being reserved for the maintenance of those apostate friars, who preferred indulgence to duty. Proceeding onward in the career of injustice, they excluded the catholic cantons from all share in the government, because they refused to ratify the contract.

Persuaded that no event could prove so prejudicial to the advancement of truth as a civil war, the senate of Berne proposed various palliatives in the hope of effecting a reconciliation. But a spirit of violence had gone abroad which rendered every effort abortive. Convinced that Providence, by signs and miracles, would declare in favour of the true believers, the Zurickers were sanguine enough to expect that a second Joshua would arise among them, whose sacred trumpet would again discomfit armies, and overturn the walls of every opposing fortress. A decree was in consequence passed, prohibiting the exportation of grain. This measure was equivalent to a declaration of war; as it deprived the

the forest-cantons of the only means of subsistence*. CHAP. XXX.

Rapperswyl had hitherto inclined to the catholic cause; but no sooner were the markets of Zuric shut, than the friends of the reformation availed themselves of the general panic, to introduce their favourite tenets, as the dread of a famine proved more conclusive, than all the threats and exhortations of the Romish clergy. The catholic magistrates were in consequence deposed, every symbol of idolatry was abolished, and the offices of government confided to men, who were blindly devoted to Zuric†.

It would be an act of injustice towards the virtuous Zuingle, to conceal his patriotic conduct at this momentous crisis. Superior alike to the gloomy feelings of superstition, and to the sordid views of avarice, he courageously combated the prejudices of his countrymen, opposing the god-like precept of universal charity to the wild chimeras of enthusiasm. But his influence was visibly on the decline; while

* Mallet, III. 162. † Id. ib.

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men, distinguished only by sanguinary principles, and intemperate zeal, took the lead in every debate. Convinced that no mortal power could direct the counsels of a fanatic mob, he contemplated with dismay the gathering storm. Firmly persuaded of the excellence of the protestant tenets, he wished them to rest on their own intrinsic merit, little doubting that inquiry would eventually secure the triumph of truth. Perceiving, however, that these salutary admonitions were despised, as the effect of age and indecision, he requested permission to resign his employments, that he might consecrate to solitude and contemplation the remnant of a life, impaired by incessant exertions for the welfare of mankind. But the entreaties of his friends, and a strong sense of duty, induced him to relinquish his purpose, and once more rekindled the patriotic flame, which diffused eternal splendor around his funeral pile*.

While the governments of Berne and

* Hottinger.

Zuric

Zuric published manifestoes in justification of their conduct*, the catholics having assembled their forces in the vicinity of Zug, made a sudden irruption into the free bailiwics. CHAP. XXX.

Availing themselves of the inactivity of the foe, they resolved to bring the quarrel to a speedy issue. At Zuric on the contrary indecision prevented every necessary exertion; and when the report arrived of the enemy's march, consternation was imprinted on every countenance, except on that of the pious and intrepid Zuingle. Feeling adversity with saint-like resignation, he inspired confidence by the wisdom of his counsels, and the energy of his example. Having exhorted the senate to adopt a system more suitable to the exigency of the times, he hastened to Cappel, where the protestant troops were encamped.

The same spirit of irresolution, that paralysed the champions of the senate, diffused its baneful influence over the

* This manifesto was published on the 19th of September, and on the 4th of October it was answered with spirit by the catholic league.

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heroes of the field. When the venerable pastor arrived, the commanders were actually debating on the policy of a retreat. For while enthusiasm confided implicitly in the protection of interposing angels, and considered reason to be a quality incompatible with faith; there were others who viewed the dangers of their situation with unbiassed judgment, and deemed it impolitic to hazard a battle, when nothing short of a miracle could crown their arms with success. The enemy now appeared in view. Fanaticism exulted at their approach, in full conviction that the Lord had delivered the unbelievers into the hands of the righteous. Perceiving that no impression was made by their artillery, the catholic commanders rushing on the enemy sword in hand, threw them into confusion. Astonished, and confounded, that no miracles interposed in favour of the elect, the warmest enthusiasts, who so lately anticipated victory with presumptuous boldness, gave way to the impression of terror. Convinced that they were punished for the sins of the incredulous,

credulous, they cast away their arms, and fled. The catholics pursued with eager vengeance. In vain the vanquished supplicates for mercy. The victors were performing the work of the Lord. Like the chosen Jews, they were exterminating the incredulous, and washing away their own transgressions in heretical blood. Exhausted with fatigue and devastation, they fell devoutly on their knees, amid the horrid carnage, insulting heaven by their impious thanks, for having delivered so many of their apostate brethren to the sword of the avenger. Having thus given way to the impulse of a feeling, which they miscalled devotion, they resigned themselves with unbridled ferocity to the dictates of revenge, putting to death the wounded amid insults and tortures, which no passion except bigotry could have inspired. Yet among the sanguinary votaries of superstition, a few were found, who felt that inhumanity towards a prostrate foe was not less repugnant to the precepts of religion, than it was contrary

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to the dictates of honour. They conducted the bleeding prisoners to their tents, chafed their frozen limbs before the fire, and administered such relief, as their contracted means, or the tumult of the scene would allow. Zuingle was among the number of the wounded. He was found, amidst heaps of mangled carcases, almost in a state of insensibility. When a little recovered, he raised himself on his knees, exclaiming with religious fervour, "They may kill the body, but the soul they cannot destroy." Observing the inarticulate sounds still quivering on his lips, a soldier inquired, if he wanted a confessor. The venerable divine expressed his dissent by a nod of disapprobation. An officer, who saw him thus disdainfully reject one of the most important ceremonies of the catholic church, hastened to avenge the cause of heaven in the blood of one of the wisest and most virtuous of men. It appears that the author of this atrocious deed was ignorant of the character of him, whose life he so wantonly sacrificed. But on the

the following morning, when his person was identified, fanaticism gave unbounded scope to it's fury. The murdered patriot was arraigned before a tribunal of bigots, and being convicted of heresy, his body was committed to the flames, after having been quartered by the hands of the executioner*. CHAP. XXX.

Thus perished one of the brightest ornaments of the protestant church; uniting profound erudition with a taste more refined than is common to those, who regard the study of the dead languages as the most essential branch of literature. To a spirit of moderation still more rare in the founder of a religious sect, he joined the heroic fortitude of a martyr. In a word, he was pious without ostentation, learned without pedantry, a friend to every innocent amusement, without infringing the rigid precepts of morality, and liberally endowed with that spirit of conciliation which prompts the true christian to view

* Hottinger, Stettler. Mallet III. 165.

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the failings of others with indulgence, reserving all his severity for his own.

Though the loss of the Zurickers, amounted to little more than five hundred men, their consternation was scarcely less than if the enemy had been masters of the gates. Every one, as is usual in great public calamities, attempted to palliate his own misconduct by loading his neighbours with abuse. The soldiers complained of the incapacity of their leaders, while they attributed the disaster to the indiscipline and timidity of the soldiers. The moderate party taxed those who had been clamorous for war with intemperate zeal. The friends of vigorous measures retorted by accusations of cowardice and of indifference for the welfare of their country. But as neither censures nor complaints were calculated to impede the progress of the foe, terror in some measure supplied the defect of public virtue, by inspiring exertion, firmness, and unanimity. All the protestant cantons appeared equally sensible of the impending danger, and sent such numerous

merous reinforcements to the vanquished army, that it was soon enabled to act offensively. Following the course of the Reuss, they compelled the catholics to retire to the mountains of Zug, where they resolved to attack them in their entrenchments. But the expedition was conducted with so little intelligence, that the column was surprised on its march, and cut in pieces almost to a man. Indeed, so great was the disproportion of slain, that the catholics, with characteristic credulity, attributed the victory to the miraculous interposition of the holy virgin, who in order (as they asserted) to protect her shrine of Einsiedlen, struck the protestant with supernatural blindness. CHAP. XXX.

Dismay and consternation now seized the troops, who quitted their standard in large bodies, and fled for safety to the fortified towns. Peace again became the popular cry. Even those who had most obstinately opposed every pacific overture, now joined in the clamor for peace. Fortunately too a similar disposition

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tion prevailed in the hostile camp. Conscious of their inability to support a protracted contest against the superior resources of the municipal cantons, the catholics looked forward to the termination of hostilities with anxious hope, and resolved to meet every pacific overture with a christian-like spirit of placability. The only thing required was the immediate evacuation of the territory of Zug, and the free exercise of their religion in all the dependent bailiwics. Yet reasonable as they were, these concessions were attended with various circumstances humiliating to the orthodoxy of Zuric. In the words of the treaty, the catholic worship was triumphantly stiled the "ancient, true, and unquestionable christian faith;" while that of the reformers was degradingly called "the religion of Zuric*."

Berne not having acceded to the treaty, it was agreed that the claims of indemnity preferred by the catholic league should

* Mallet, III. 174

be

be referred to a congress. In the mean time, they mutually promised that the most perfect harmony should subsist, and further agreed that in case any misunderstanding should arise, the question should be decided by arbitration*. CHAP. XXX.

The whole burden of the war now exclusively falling upon the canton of Berne, where numbers entertained a secret partiality for the ancient communion, military operations were conducted with languor during the rest of the campaign. Nor did the senate any longer conceal their inclination to terminate a contest, which held out no prospects of aggrandisement, to compensate the inconveniences with which it was attended. Between parties actuated by such pacific views, no insuperable obstacles could intervene; and a pacification accordingly took place, on conditions similar to those which have been already mentioned; with the additional proviso, that a sum of money should be paid to

* Id. ib.

the

CHAP. XXX. the catholic cantons, towards defraying the expenses of the war*.

The unsuccessful termination of the contest, by depressing the ambitious hopes of the protestants, retarded the progress of the reformation; while to the catholic league it proved not less gratifying than advantageous. Their victory was celebrated by festivals, and processions, while the shrine of Einsiedlen was loaded with offerings, in return for the signal exertions of its immaculate patroness. Embassies also arrived from Rome and Vienna, to congratulate the champions of orthodoxy upon the perseverance and courage with which they had struggled in her defence, and exhorting them to persist in their pious efforts†.

The latter injunction was too scrupulously obeyed. In all the districts subject to the joint jurisdiction of both religions, the celebration of the mass was restored with extraordinary pomp, and the degraded symbols of Romish idolatry tri-

* Id. ib. † Mallet, III. 177.

umphantly

umphantly replaced in the churches, from which iconoclastic zeal had so lately banished them in every mark of indignity. In many places, where the public opinion had fluctuated between the two communions, the populace reverted to the ancient worship. The abbey of St. Gal again received it's luxurious tenants, and the citizens were condemed to a heavy fine. Even the wealthy burghers of Zuric, disheartened by their recent losses, began to question the efficacy of a creed, which had exposed it's followers to such heavy disgrace. Considering victory as an unequivocal prognostic of divine favor, numbers returned within the pale of the church. To such a degree did this unmanly spirit of apostasy prevail, that the papal nuncio is said to have entertained sanguine expectations of bringing back the wandering flock within their original fold. For this purpose, an alliance was negociated between the emperor, the pope, and the catholic cantons. But this visionary fabric was no sooner erected then it fell to the ground. By a sudden irruption into Hungary, the Turks reduced

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reduced Charles to the necessity of concluding a hasty peace with the Smalcaldic league, that he might turn his arms against the implacable enemies of the christian name.

Yet however disadvantageously the conflict ended for the protestant cause, the event was far less detrimental to their real interests, than a defeat would have proved to the adverse party. For as the resources of the catholics were comparatively small, they set happiness and independence upon every cast. The inward conviction of their own inability to continue the contest, operated most powerfully in inspiring those sentiments of moderation which dictated the terms of peace; for as meekness and forbearance, are by no means characteristical of the papal religion, we are compelled to recur to motives less pure than those of benevolence and charity.

Having laid before the reader a general outline of the rise and progress of the Reformation, in the Helvetic states, we forbear to enter into it's minute details; a more finished

finished picture may be found in the works of contemporary writers, who have investigated the subject under all it's bearings. This pacification, however, constitutes an important epocha in Helvetic history. CHAP. XXX.

In the conduct of their military operations, the catholic league displayed prudence, courage, and unanimity, qualities amply compensating for many wants. The stake, for which they contended, was of infinite value, comprehending their dearest interests both in spiritual and temporal affairs. Had the efforts of Zuric been crowned with success, there can be little doubt that the protestant religion would have been the only one tolerated in Switzerland. By submitting the question to public suffrage, the triumph of the reformers was secure, as the majority of the inhabitants were decidedly favourable to the 'New Communion.' Thus the influence of the catholics would have been gradually undermined. Nor could a hope be entertained that the powers of darkness would long prevail; when opposed to the united

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united influence of reason, ambition, and interest.

Convinced that their existence depended wholly upon the harmony with which they acted, they cemented the league by additional ties*.

To a confederacy so formidable, the protestants opposed a coalition, composed of those cantons which had embraced the evangelical doctrines. Thus the unity of the Helvetic confederacy was for ever destroyed, and two separate interests established, which watched each other with unremitting jealousy. A fatal blow was thus given to the power of Helvetia; as her internal strength was not only impaired, but her consideration lessened among foreign nations.

Yet, if we contemplate the picture in another point of view, it presents a more favourable aspect. The secularization of the monasteries opened an abundant source

* This association was shortly afterward joined by Friburg, Appenzel, the Valais, and a part of the canton of Glaris.

of

of wealth to the protestant cantons, which under the direction of a wise and patriotic government, produced essential benefit to the community. These ample revenues which remained unproductive in the hands of indolence, were employed in works of public utility. Out of funds formerly lavished in pious ostentation, or luxurious indulgence, the naked were clothed, the hungry fed, and the ignorant instructed. A form of worship, more pure and rational, arose from the ruins of idolatry; though the philosopher may be permitted to think that the hand of reform was perhaps employed too rudely, and that in stripping off the embroidery, the garment was injured in some essential parts. By allowing a freer scope to reason and conscience, the reformers contributed to the advancement of every useful science. The protestant cantons produced many eminent divines, who would have passed for eloquent in a more polished age. Even among the Swiss historians of the sixteenth century, we find several distinguished for deep erudition, for laborious

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research, and persevering industry, though it would be fruitless to search for the beauties of classical composition. In the holy scriptures, men discovered that there are professions more grateful to the divinity, and more beneficial to society, than drowsy piety, or sanguinary war. To the brutal tribe of daring adventurers, who squandered in sensuality the gold which they had acquired at the expense of blood, succeeded an industrious race, who consecrated to useful purposes the fortunes earned by labor or by the successful cultivation of the arts. Hence agriculture regained its pristine honours. Extensive manufactures were also established in those districts, which the sterility of the soil rendered unfit for tillage. In a country so favoured, the persecuted were eager to seek an asylum. Crowds of artisans driven from France and Italy, by the impolicy of fanaticism, met a welcome reception in the bosom of toleration, and brought with them the knowledge of many useful fabrics, which added to the wealth and the comfort of their generous protectors.

Rigid

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Rigid morals are seldom the characteristic virtues of a soldier. Wealth amassed by plunder is usually squandered in debauchery. Hence the leading object of the reformers was to purify the national character from the contagion of camps; to introduce decorum and benevolence in the friendly intercourse of society; to repress extravagance, and the love of gaming; and to harmonize the mind by virtuous affections for the domestic duties of life.

But zeal is a quality rarely found in the company of prudence. Hence, in the arduous task of reforming others, it is difficult to preserve that gentle spirit which is the perfection of political wisdom. By converting innocent amusements into crimes, and exercising an inquisitorial vigilance over private relaxations, the reformers essentially injured their cause. This affected austerity was too repugnant to the frail nature of man, to be long maintained at so extravagant a pitch. Subsiding by degrees in the common habits of life, it was regarded as the distinctive badge of fanati-

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cism, or a mask assumed by hypocrisy to cover failings which it blushed to avow. Even the catholics themselves participated in the general improvement. Their understandings were cultivated with greater diligence, and in proportion as their prejudices diminished, the authority of the clergy became less despotic.

From an attentive consideration of these important changes, it appears, that the Reformation ought in justice to be classed among the greatest blessings of mankind. Like all other revolutions of extensive influence, it was accompanied by convulsions and wars. But if we seriously examine the situation of Europe, at this momentous crisis, there is little reason to imagine that the repose of mankind would have remained inviolate, even had Rome continued with unchastised arrogance, to insult the understandings, and domineer the consciences of mankind.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Situation of Geneva—The Protestant Religion established—Conquest of the Pais de Vaud—Calvin.

ALTHOUGH Geneva had acquired an accession of strength by it's recent alliance with Berne and Friburg, it was by no means secure from the ambitious projects of Savoy. The prospect of reducing the Pais de Vaud, under their joint dominion, had induced those cantons to embrace the defence of Geneva; but to maintain the independence of their new ally, required exertions which it was in vain to expect from the calculating policy of Helvetia. CHAP. XXXI.

Under these circumstances the government could with difficulty adopt any regular plan. Every innovation, introduced in the established worship, gave offence to

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the Friburghers, who pertinaciously adhered to the papal communion; while the Berners, on the contrary, incessantly urged their friends to abandon the errors of Rome*.

While the flame of enthusiasm was thus daily fed with fresh combustibles, it could hardly be expected that the general fervour should abate; or that individuals should confine themselves to disputation, when they were furnished with a readier and more forcible argument in the sword. The first symptoms of disaffection were manifested by papers affixed to the walls, in the most frequented parts of the city, animadverting upon the gross absurdities of the catholic rites, exposing the unfounded pretensions of the papal see, and referring to the gospel as the only just criterion of christian faith.

An attack so daring could not long remain unnoticed. All the dignified clergy were instantly in arms. Conscious, however, of their inability to combat their op-

* Spon. 4to.

ponents

ponents with logical weapons, or to support their own pretensions by precedents derived from the example of the primitive church, they resolved to adopt the more compendious logic of compulsion. CHAP. XXXI.

While the minds of men were in this state of fermentation, Farel arrived. It would have been consistent with the spirit of the gospel to have preached toleration, but the tongue of Farel was never designed to inculcate lessons of peace. Having assembled a numerous audience at a house of public resort, he exhorted them to persevere with unshaken ardour in the holy work of reformation, even should the devil himself attempt to defend the Augean stable of Rome. Apprehensive of the consequences, which doctrines so seditious might produce, the magistrates commanded him to quit the city; but scarcely had he departed, when the people clamorously insisted upon his recal. He now no longer restrained his fury; but overturned the altars, and broke the images in the sight of the people, by whom these ebullitions

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were regarded as symptoms of the most fervent devotion*.

Compelled once more to abandon the scene of his glory, Farel resolved that the seeds of righteousness should not perish from want of proper nutriment, and accordingly left behind him, in Froment, a disciple in every respect fitted to supply his place†.

The mania of proselytism grew daily more infectious. Men of every rank and profession commenced preachers and teachers; and as no place of worship was yet appropriated to the new communion, the sacrament was administered, to a numerous congregation, with all the simplicity of the primitive church, by an unlettered mechanic in a private garden‡.

These rapid steps toward innovation were not overlooked by the protecting cantons. Delegates arrived from Friburg to admonish the citizens of the dangers of

* Spon. I. 213. & seq. † Id. Ib.
‡ Id. ib.

apostacy.

apostacy. Nor was the senate of Berne less strenuous in recommending a change; but their admonitions were delivered in a tone of authority, highly offensive to a people, who valued independence beyond every earthly blessing*. CHAP. XXXI.

An unenlightened multitude, instructed to consult no monitor but reason, is naturally hurried from excess to excess. Whatever flatters their vanity, inflames their passions, or excites their cupidity, is erroneously ascribed to divine inspiration. It was thus with the populace of Geneva. Frequent tumults arose between the opposite factions, in one of which perished a dignified ecclesiastic, who like a true representative of the church militant, was heading the inferior clergy in an affray. The Friburghers, his brother-townsmen, in- 1533.
sisting that the murderers should be brought to punishment. A contest ensued between the bishop and the syndics; the former pretending that the cognizance of the affair belonged exclusively to the ecclesias-

* Id. ib.

tical

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tical court; while the latter maintained that every crime was equally amenable to a municipal tribunal. Incensed at a claim which tended directly to annihilate the supremacy of the church, the indignant prelate withdrew, resolving never more, till proper atonement should be made, to inhabit that rebellious city *.

With a view of animating his party, he sent to Paris for Furbitty, an enthusiastic declaimer of the Sorbonne, who inveighed against the tenets of the reformers, in terms of the most intemperate abuse. The senate of Berne again interfered, insisting that Farel should be recalled, or the Parisian doctor silenced. The bishop issued an injunction under pain of excommunication, that all the French and German bibles should be instantly committed to the flames. The magistrates, in return, not only prohibited the clergy from teaching any doctrines, which were not founded upon scriptural truths †, but farther resolved to establish the reformed religion by public

* Mallet, III. 225. † Mallet, ib. 227.

suffrage.

suffrage. Farel was, in consequence, conducted, with triumphal pomp, into the Franciscan church, where he took possession of the pulpit, amidst the acclamations of the exulting populace. CHAP. XXXI.

This event was regarded as a signal victory; and in conformity to the fashion of the times, commissioners arrived from Berne to congratulate the authors of it upon the wisdom and energy of their conduct. The Friburghers, on the contrary, convinced that their allies were abandoned by providence, deemed it heretical to maintain the accustomed relations of amity with an outcast people*. 1534.

The bishop now transferring his residence to Gex, laid Geneva under an interdict; but the magistrates took no other notice of this hasty measure, than to declare the see vacant, appointing officers to administer it's revenues, which were henceforth appropriated to charitable uses.

A recrimination so decisive might have been attended with fatal results, had not

* Id. Ib. 229.

circum-

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circumstances concurred in it's favor. Charles, duke of Savoy, under the influence of Beatrix of Portugal, his wife, rashly abandoned the cautious system, which had guided his predecessors in the path of greatness, and entered with ardour into the ambitious projects of the imperial court. So long as the emperor continued master of Italy, the Savoyard had nothing to fear; but no sooner had he embarked in the African expedition, than the king of France attempted to recover the Milanese. Aware of the danger of leaving behind him a power blindly devoted to the Austrian interest, Francis resolved to commence his operations by the conquest of Piedmont. The claims of his mother afforded a plausible pretext for war; if pleas were ever wanting, when it is for the interest of princes to be unjust. No sooner therefore was his project ripe for execution, than his troops entered the devoted territory, and made themselves masters of all the important places, without having encountered the smallest re-

* Robinson's Charles V. II. 389.

verse.

reverse. The death of Sforza however gave a sudden change to the politics of Italy, and tempted Francis to claim the duchy of Milan as the lineal her*. CHAP. XXXI.

The embarrassed situation of the house of Savoy afforded a favourable opportunity for the senate of Berne to undertake the conquest of the Pais de Vaud, which had long been the leading object of their ambition. Yet, notwithstanding all the exertions of the government, and the popularity of the cause, the whole force which they could muster, even when joined by the militia of Friburg, amounted to little more than seven thousand men. Desirous of compensating their deficiency of numbers by the vigor of their conduct, they advanced with such rapidity, that in the course of a few days the whole province was wrested from the dominion of Savoy, and united to the Helvetic republic†. 1536.

Convinced of his inability to stem the torrent, the duke of Savoy implored the mediation of the imperial court, and An-

* Robinson's Charles V. II. 389. † Mallet, III. 6.

tonio

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tonio di Leva was accordingly directed to intercede with the Swiss in his favour. By the articles of peace, the provinces of Gex and Chiblais were restored to their ancient master; but the Pais de Vaud was divided between Berne and Friburg*, and under their dominion it continued, till the perfidy of France and their own impolitic pride produced an irreparable schism.

As the avowed purpose of the war was to establish the protestant interest, it was a singular phenomenon to behold the orthodox Friburg contending for the propagation of heresy. This circumstance however clearly indicates, that even in the breasts of the most inveterate bigots there may be passions more vehement even than bigotry.

The conquest of the Pais de Vaud, and the establishment of the protestant religion, form a memorable epocha in the annals of Berne; as they not only added stability to to the republic, but wrought a material change in it's domestic policy. Enlightened

* Stettler, 2. Ruchat, IV. 494.

wisdom

wisdom would have dictated the expediency of incorporating the subjugated territory into the parent state. By admitting the inhabitants to all the rights of citizens, their allegiance would have been secured under the triple tie of interest, affection, and esteem. But the pride of aristocracy revolted at a measure founded upon principles too enlarged for commercial statesmen to comprehend. CHAP. XXXI.

Though treated with mildness, the Pais de Vaud was ever regarded as a conquered province. Hence the seeds of jealousy were early sown, which time and occasion at length ripened to all the noxious maturity of revolutionary fruit.

With the hasty progress of the Bernese troops, the triumph of their religious opinions kept equal pace. Unwilling to witness the downfal of a communion, to which he was sincerely attached, the bishop of Lausanne abandoned his diocese, and fled for refuge to Turin. The episcopal revenues were immediately confiscated, nor was the bishop ever suffered to return.

Thus far the conquerors acted in strict conformity

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conformity to the laws of war. The senate of Berne had appeared the champion of an injured people, whom the love of liberty entitled to be free. But the blessing conferred was considered by the donors as too valuable a present to be gratuitously bestowed. They accordingly signified their intention of annexing to their own republic all the revenues, prerogatives, and domains, which had anciently belonged to the bishop of Geneva. This ungenerous claim excited universal indignation, as their allies accounted the acquisition of the Pais de Vaud, no inadequate recompence for their exertions. The pretension however, notwithstanding it's injustice, was enforced with all the arrogance of power; and was ultimately relinquished, only in consideration of a pecuniary donative and various other concessions, not less burthensome, than humiliating to Geneva*.

Aware of the difficulty of extirpating opinions, so deeply rooted in the human heart, the senate of Berne was totally at a loss in

* Mallet, III. 253.

what

what manner to proceed; when they were suddenly extricated from their embarrassment by the zeal of Farel, the indefatigable apostle of reform. No sooner were the republican troops in possession of Lausanne, than his pupil Viret was sent to pave the way for his reception. The encouragement given to this wild enthusiast surpassed his most sanguine expectations; so great indeed was the antipathy of the people toward the ancient government, that which ever religion was most hostile to the prerogatives of the clergy, appeared to them to be the best. The example of the capital became a model for the dependent communities. Every ornament was swept from the churches with undistinguished hostility; every symbol of the Roman worship was beheld with abhorrence. CHAP. XXXI.

But as in many places this sudden change was the effect of fear, not of conviction, the senate deemed it expedient by some formal act to conciliate the discordant multitude; and accordingly invited the divines of both communions to a public confer-

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ence. Nothing could have been more gratifying to the vanity of Farel, than such an opportunity of displaying his elocution. During a protracted contest of seven days, he bore all the brunt of the action, astonishing the spectators by the acuteness of his tone, the volubility of his tongue, and the strength of his lungs. The triumph of the reformers was complete, and the protestant religion was, in consequence, established by a senatorial decree*.

Although the wishes of the majority were decidedly favourable to the evangelical doctrines, this important measure could not be carried into execution without considerable opposition. But as the friends of Rome were much inferior in numbers, they deemed it prudent to submit; satisfied that resistance could serve no better purpose, than to expose them to the severity of the laws.

The encouragement of learning was a favourite object with the reformers. They felt that a religion, which is founded upon

* Ruchat, V. 627, &c.

truth,

truth, may boldly challenge investigation; and they appealed, with honest confidence, to the understandings of mankind, presenting to them the sacred volume, and boldly inviting them to examine and to believe. Whatever appeared conducive to the propagation of knowledge, or calculated to extend the limits of the human mind, was cherished with unremitting care. With this view, the revenues of all the religious houses, which had been suppressed, were consecrated to establishments for the instruction of youth. Among other places, an academy was instituted at Lausanne, and professors appointed with liberal salaries, to teach the Greek and Hebrew Languages *. From this period, the titular bishops of Lausanne took up their residence at Friburg, as did those of Geneva at Annecy in Savoy.

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With high satisfaction we turn our eyes from this disgusting picture, to contemplate the virtues of a rising state. Geneva was daily acquiring strength, riches, and repu-

* Id. ib.

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tation, under the benign auspices of a free constitution. Protected against the machinations of Savoy by the powerful arm of Helvetia, she wisely employed the happy period of domestic repose, to give stability to her religious institutions; and by uniting liberty of thought with liberty of action, secured to herself the full enjoyment of every blessing consistent with political safety.

No decisive step had as yet been taken to define the dogmas of religion, or to regulate the ecclesiastical discipline. That task was reserved for the zeal and the talents of Calvin. Born at Noyon, in Picardy, in the year 1509, this celebrated character was destined from his earliest infancy, to the clerical profession, and his unremitting attention had accordingly been directed to the intricate study of theology. From many of his letters it is easy to collect, that the treatment which he experienced from a morose father during his youth, had thrown a shade of austerity over the conduct of his more advanced life. His mother's character likewise was calculated to

inspire religious melancholy. Addicted to the ceremonial forms of worship with a scrupulosity bordering upon superstition, she constantly sought to inspire her son with those sentiments of gravity and decorum, which she deemed essential to the sacerdotal order. In the hope of exciting his more intense veneration for the author of the universe, his parents frequently conducted him to some solitary spot, where the romantic features of nature combined with the awful stillness of the scene to awaken in his susceptible mind the most enthusiastic devotion. Having left him for some time absorbed in pious contemplation, they commanded him to fall upon his knees, and devoutly adore that Almighty Being, from whose plastic hand, the glorious canopy of the sky, the majestic rocks, the foaming cataract, and every thing which his eye beheld, or his imagination could conceive, had derived their form and essence.

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By his exemplary conduct, Calvin so far gained the favour of his superiors, that he was promoted, at the early age of twelve, to a small benefice in the cathedral of

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Noyon*. After remaining there a short time, he was appointed to the parish of Pont l'Eveque, in consequence of the renown which he had acquired in a public disputation, and not as is too frequently the case, through the intriguing patronage of the great†.

It was a singular circumstance of good fortune, in the life of this illustrious man, that he was related to one so capable of directing his studies, as Robert Olivetan. Deeply versed in the science of divinity, he had been long accustomed to refer to the scriptures for the solution of all his difficulties; and as a preparatory step to theological inquiry, he recommended to Calvin to consult the bible, with which he had previously never ventured to converse‡.

* Bayle, Art. Calvin.

† Id. Ib.

‡ It is not less singular than true, that some of the most celebrated preachers of the Romish church had no acquaintance with the bible, except what they accidentally derived from historical paintings, and select passages, inscribed upon the walls of churches and convents.

Animated

Animated alike by the importance of the subject, and the beauty of the composition, Calvin resigned himself with unwearied ardour to his new study, scarcely allowing himself time to partake of the necessary refreshments of nature. With a mixed emotion of indignation and surprise he observed that, among the rites and institutions of popery, many of those, which were most strenuously recommended and most rigidly practised, were not only totally unsanctioned by divine command, but utterly unknown to the primitive church. At first (he himself assures us) he proceeded "with fear and trembling," scarcely daring to listen to the suggestions of reason, when opposed to the decrees of councils and the bulls of pontiffs.

The knowledge of the sacred writings was not the only benefit, which Calvin derived from the admonition of his learned friend. To him he owed his taste for the writings of the protestant divines, which occupied all the moments capable of being withdrawn from the more important study of the gospel. His timidity gradu-

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ally yielded to conviction, and he no longer hesitated to pronounce those doctrines erroneous, which he found to be inconsistent with the word of God.

Being now fully persuaded of the errors of popery, he resolved to abandon the church, and to devote his talents to the more lucrative profession of jurisprudence. With this intent he removed to Orleans, at that time famous for it's forensic schools, where he rendered himself so conspicuous by his genius and his application, that he was offered the degree of doctor. This dignity he with becoming modesty refused, under pretence that he entertained too adequate a sense of his own inferiority to accept so distinguished an appellation.

During a visit to Bourges, whither he went to attend the lectures of the celebrated Alciat, he became acquainted with Wolmar, from whom, with a competent knowledge of the Greek language, he imbibed an increasing partiality for the protestant faith*. Attached, by the fullest powers of

* Bayle.

conviction,

conviction, to the tenets of the reformed church, he thought himself bound to impart them to others, and accordingly began to preach in the vicinity of Bourges*. CHAP. XXXI.

Scarcely had he commenced his apostolic mission, when the death of his father occasioned a sudden alteration in his plans, and led him to abandon the contracted sphere of a village preacher for the conspicuous theatre of Paris. Upon establishing himself in that capital, his acquaintance was generally courted by men of letters; and he was in consequence admitted to those clandestine meetings, which were held by the protestants in defiance of persecution. In those assemblies, he never failed to recommend unshaken courage, and a resolute adherence to the principles of religious reform; thus gradually acquiring an influence with the whole party, as one of it's ablest supporters†.

* Gaillard, François, VII. 3.

† During his residence at Paris, Calvin published a translation of Seneca, whom he greatly admired, as having approached more nearly to the pure moral of christianity, than any other of the heathen writers. Theodore Bera Vit. Calv.

To

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To prescribe resignation to others, is no difficult task; to practise it ourselves demands exertions of a very different kind. Calvin, however, did not belong to that class of writers, who are mighty in words alone. Whatever was conformable to his ideas of moral rectitude, he faithfully realised; and having discharged his duty like an honest man, he awaited with pious indifference the event. In a country, where persecution was the favourite instrument of an abandoned court, unblemished integrity was regarded as a crime. Michael Cop, rector of the university of Paris, was the confidential friend of Calvin. In one of his annual lectures Cop treated the writings of the reformers with a degree of lenity, which alarmed the orthodox dullness of the Sorbonne. Calvin being suspected of having assisted in the composition of this discourse, the government determined to sacrifice him to the resentment of the regular clergy. Having gained early intelligence however of their design, he eluded the vigilance of the police, till the queen of Navarre, the beautiful and accomplished,

complished sister of Francis I. contrived to make his peace*. CHAP. XXXI.

The persecution carried on against the protestants, having rendered it unsafe for him to remain longer in France, he retired to Bâle. There it appears he intended to have lived in seclusion, devoting his time to literary pursuits. But the celebrity, which he had so justly acquired, forced the reluctant theologue into public notice. Finding it impossible to execute his favourite project, he resolved at least to deserve his reputation by the utility of his labours, and accordingly published his famous 'Institutes of the Christian Religion.' In this celebrated treatise, which he boldly dedicated to Francis I. he proves, with great force of reasoning, that the tenets of the protestants were not less conformable to the spirit of the gospel, than to the practice of the primitive church. He further shows, that nothing can be more inconsistent with the principles of justice, than to confound the reformers with cer-

* Bayle.

tain

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tain fanatics, who by their dangerous doctrines and licentious conduct had excited commotions in various parts of Europe.

This argument was directly levelled against the king, who, in his effort to reconcile political interests with religious prejudices, affected to stigmatise every sect, which deviated from the established worship, with the opprobrious name of 'Anabaptists.' By thus artfully ascribing to his protestant subjects opinions, which they held in abhorrence, he vainly hoped to disguise his real motives for persecuting the huguenots in France, while he openly protected them in Germany *. This work contributed to increase it's author's fame, not only from the profound erudition, and the comprehensive knowledge of theology which it displayed, but also from it's exhibiting the errors of the papal communion in a new and more striking point of view †.

Few persons, in that age, were more justly admired than the duchess of Ferrara, for a refined taste, an improved understanding,

* Mosheim. † Beza.

and

and every amiable quality of the heart. This accomplished princess had imbibed a strong predilection in favour of the protestant divines, by whom the sciences were cultivated with equal ardour and success. Men of letters flocked around her, and her little court by a splendid compliment, was denominated 'the Athens of Italy*.

Desirous of becoming acquainted with a person so justly illustrious, Calvin undertook a journey to Ferrara, where he met with the most flattering reception. The dread of the inquisition, that eternal foe to genius and improvement, induced him to appear under a fictitious name; but it was impossible for him long to disguise his real character. No sooner however was he discovered, than he was compelled to fly, as no earthly power could have shielded him from destruction, had he fallen into the hands of that sanguinary tribunal†.

After visiting Paris for a few weeks, he at length determined to settle in Switzer-

* Gaillard. † Id. ib.

land.

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land. But on his way to Bâle, having stopped at Geneva, he was persuaded by Farel to alter his plan, and to become a fellow-labourer with him in the vineyard of the Lord*.

Having consecrated his life to the service of those, with whose eternal welfare he had charged his conscience, he soon obtained an entire ascendency over the hearts and understandings of his adopted fellow-citizens, and preserved it with little interruption to the hour of his death. Anxious to purify the seat of his apostolical jurisdiction from the contagion of impiety, he drew up certain articles of faith, and submitted them to the consideration of the people, by whom they were sanctioned with unanimous approbation. Calvin, however, too soon discovered that it was an easier task to frame a code for the regulation of human conduct, than to carry it into effect. An attachment to established habits was not easily overcome; nor were favourite indulgences readily relinquished.

* Beza.

He

He had recourse therefore to a more rigorous discipline, and resolved to abstain from the celebration of the sacrament, till the morals of his flock should be improved. His enemies, who had long watched for an opportunity of undermining his popularity, took advantage of this hasty measure to represent his authority as tyrannical. "It is not a reformation of "manners alone," said the gay and licentious, "that the gloomy innovator medi-"tates. On the contrary, he aspires to "establish a dominion over the minds of "his congregation, more despotic than that "which was ever exercised by the court "of Rome, even under it's proudest pon-"tiffs." Thus the public opinion was gradually perverted, and a decree obtained from the general council, commanding Calvin and Farel to quit the city*.

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The banishment of Calvin was regarded by the catholics as a signal triumph. Paul III. exhorted the heretical citizens to re-

* Mallet, III. 280.

turn

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turn within the pale of the church, and appears even to have entertained sanguine hopes, that his admonitions would be crowned with success. By his direction, the legate Sadolet wrote a letter to the syndics, replete with all the characteristic subtilty of the Vatican. Calvin though absent, kept a vigilant eye over his fold, and called forth all the energies of his mind to counteract this perilous project. Not content with replying to Sadolet, he addressed a pastoral exhortation to his flock, warning them of the perils by which they were encompassed, and admonishing them to persevere with unshaken constancy in the orthodox faith.

This generous attention to the happiness of those, from whose inhospitable walls he had so lately been expelled, produced the strongest emotions of admiration and regret. All ranks of citizens having concurred in demanding his recal, his sentence of exile was speedily reversed*.

* Spon, III. 275. Mosheim, IV. 420.

The

The influence of Calvin was henceforth established upon a foundation too solid to be shaken by any efforts of faction. With unabating perseverance he laboured to effect a reformation of manners; and for that purpose established a tribunal, which under the name of 'Consistory' was not only armed with extensive legal powers, but possessed an authority almost unlimited, through the agency of ecclesiastical censures. Such an institution was too repugnant to the inclinations of those whose chief pursuit was worldly enjoyment, to be exempt from obloquy. Another attempt was accordingly made to blacken the character of the reformer, by attributing his motives to the love of sway. It is but fair to acknowledge that the conduct of Calvin afforded plausible grounds for such an attack. The powers assumed by the consistorial court, were of a nature adapted to awaken jealousy; particularly among a people, who had learned from experience that no form of government is so degradingly oppressive as that of ecclesiastical tyranny.

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His plans however, in whatsoever views suggested, are stamped with the seal of genius, and indicate a mind of no common cast. For while he studiously endeavoured to give permanent vigour to the rising church, he conceived the ambitious project of rendering Geneva the capital and seminary of the reformed religion. From that little republic swarms of missionaries were destined to issue, bearing the evangelical doctrines among the most distant nations of the earth. This undertaking, arduous as it may appear, was in a great measure accomplished by his persevering assiduity. To it's success nothing more essentially contributed than the foundation of an academy at Geneva, in which the sciences were taught by himself and Bera, in conjunction with other eminent divines. Attracted by the high reputation of the professors, persons of rank and fortune flocked from every country to drain the cup of learning at it's most celebrated source; and with the learning imbibed, in many instances,

instances, the opinion of the illustrious master*. CHAP. XXXI.

Although incessantly occupied in domestic improvements and religious controversy, or in resisting the machinations of envy and impiety, Calvin disdained to circumscribe his exertions within the circle of a little republic. Amidst the various occupations of professor and magistrate, of reformer and priest, he found leisure to superintend the rising congregations in England, Poland, and France; extending his benevolence (in the words of his eulogist†) to all countries and societies, where it was possible for him to render service to his fellow-creatures, or to enlarge the empire of truth.

To impute laudable actions to improper motives, is the characteristic feature of modern philosophy. By debasing others to a level with ourselves, we gratify the meanest propensities of our nature, and strive to palliate our own degeneracy. It has been urged, that ambition and pride

* Mosheim, IV. 375. † Beza.

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were the master-springs, which gave vigour and activity to the mind of Calvin. To determine this question belongs to Him alone, whose unerring eye can pervade the recesses of the human heart; but it is the duty of the historian to judge more leniently, and to believe that probity and benevolence are the genuine offspring of virtue.

There is one important action, however, in the life of this celebrated man, which his warmest admirers have been unable to defend. The death of Servetus (who was condemned to the flames for entertaining erroneous opinions concerning the mysterious nature of the Trinity) imprints an indelible stain upon Calvin's memory. Servetus* possessed a lively and elevated genius, deep erudition, persuasive eloquence, unshaken constancy, and a rigid attachment to every moral duty. After studying physic in Spain, he travelled into France, where he was persecuted and imprisoned for his heretical tenets. Thence he at length escaped into Switzerland,

* Mosheim, IV. 489.

where

where he hoped to find, what he had hitherto sought in vain, hospitality and toleration. Upon his arrival at Geneva, however, he was apprehended, by the express desire of Calvin, who caused an accusation of blasphemy to be preferred against him. The Spaniard had embraced his errors from conviction; and being too proud, or too honest, to recant, was condemned by the council to be burned alive.

It is impossible to justify this atrocious action, which shews at once the extent of Calvin's power, and the manner in which it was abused. The only palliative of his crime is, that he was educated in the Romish persuasion, and had imbibed much of that haughty spirit of persecution which was in those days unfortunately common to all the catholic clergy*.

With all his violence of temper, Luther never pretended to the right of punishing those, whose tenets differed from his own. On the contrary, he invariably shewed himself a strenuous advocate for toleration, and considered charity as the appropriate

* Mosheim, ib. 491. Note E.

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ornament of christianity. Zuingle was still more liberal in his sentiments toward men of a different persuasion, and even extended his benevolence so far, as to admit the virtuous of every religion to the full participation of eternal happiness*.

The phlegmatic character of the nation may possibly have tempered the zeal of the German reformers. But Calvin was born among a people, whose virtues or vices are always carried to excess. To this powerful cause we may fairly ascribe his greatest defects. Dazzled by admiration, he perhaps regarded his dogmas as infallible. His vanity was offended by contradiction, and the natural severity of his temper soured by opposition might easily represent the cause, in which he fought, as that of religion and of God.

In examining the character of the great German reformer, we confined ourselves wholly to historical facts; but the alarming influence of Calvinistical opinions (under the modern appellation of METHODISM)

* Mallet, III. 283.

on

on the present state of society*, compels us to enter into more minute details, respecting their nature and tendency. CHAP. XXXI.

The doctrine and discipline, which had been established by the enlightened piety of Zuingle, were materially changed by the haughty rigour of Calvin. Their difference of opinion was, however, most remarkable in the three following points:

Zuingle, in his plan of ecclesiastical government, had wisely subjected the clergy to the civil tribunals. This regulation was by no means agreeable to a body of men, accustomed to regard the church as subordinate to the jurisdiction of the pope alone. Calvin on the contrary, in the true spirit of a churchman, reduced the authority of the magistrates, in all spiritual cases, within the narrowest limits. Considering the clergy as an independent body, every way competent to legislate for itself, in conformity to the example of the primitive christians, he instituted synods

* See an admirable paper in the Edinburgh Review, No. XXII.

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for the inspection and regulation of all ecclesiastical affairs. This form of government, denominated 'Presbyterian,' is founded upon the principle, that between the ministers of the gospel there is no pre-eminence of rank or of authority. Whereas Zuingle had admitted a certain subordination among the clergy, and even thought it advisable to place at their head a superintendent, or director, invested with considerable powers *.

The ideas of the latter respecting the Eucharist, were by no means conformable to those of Calvin; who, in this respect at least, endeavoured to reconcile his own tenets with those of the Lutheran church. For while the apostle of Zuric considered the bread and wine in a symbolical light alone, the Genevese professor acknowledged the real, though spiritual presence of Christ. In other words, he asserted, that all true believers, who received the communion with a lively faith, were mys-

* Mosheim, IV. 377.

teriously

teriously united to the Man Christ*; and that thence deriving an additional vigour, the soul was carried on with progressive purity, till it attained to the summit of human perfection. CHAP. XXXI.

Giving way to the natural benevolence of his heart, Zuingle had maintained, that all christians, regenerate or unregenerate, might become partakers of the body and blood of their Redeemer; while Calvin reserved that inestimable

* Calvin here approaches to the Lutheran doctrine of Impanation, a barbarous term employed to signify the presence of Christ's body in, or with the bread, administered to the communicants. This is nothing more than a modification of the absurd doctrine of transubstantiation, which neither the ingenuity of Luther, nor that of any of his disciples, was able to render intelligible. In their attempts they were reduced to employ the nonsensical jargon of the schools, about substances and attributes, properties and accidents; by which they perplexed the minds of their followers, and destroyed the beautiful simplicity of christian theology. Hence arose that intricate controversy about Ubiquity and the Communication of Properties, which produced so many laborious and incomprehensible treatises, and such a multitude of invectives and disputes. Mosheim, IV. 373, 378.

privilege

CHAP. XXXI. privilege for those of the former description alone *.

But the most essential point, in which Calvin differed from all the other reformers, was the dangerous tenet of predestination and grace; in which he boldly asserted, that "from the beginning of the "world God had predestined a favoured "few of his creatures to eternal felicity, "and devoted the other, and far larger "portion, to endless misery; influenced, "in making this extraordinary election "by no other motive, than his own good "pleasure!"

It is difficult for the imagination to conceive a dogma more pernicious, as it completely overturns every distinction between virtue and vice; and takes from man his most consoling hope, amidst the toils and sufferings of life, when affliction and poverty find their chief support in a conviction of the justice and mercy of God. To suppose that Providence has irreversibly

* Id. ib.

pre-

pre-ordained a great proportion of mankind to eternal punishment, from which no efforts can avail to rescue them, is to convert the beneficent Author of the universe into the most cruel and capricious of tyrants: whereas justice and mercy are those of his attributes, which most particularly excite our veneration, confirm our confidence, and engage our love.

If it be true that the Creator, by an arbitrary decree has doomed millions of his creatures to everlasting torments, in atonement for Adam's transgression, Christ has evidently deceived his disciples by unfounded expectations. Great God! what a system of religion is that, which reduces the condition of man to a cheerless state of terror and despair! that annihilates hope, and paralyses exertion! Is it wonderful that a doctrine so incomprehensible should lead to consequences the most deplorable? Or can we be surprised, when the more enlightened members of the sect have so far abandoned the guidance of reason as to embrace this mysterious theory of vengeance and injustice, that the same enthusiastic feelings, operating upon the minds

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minds of the weak and illiterate, should banish from their creed whatever is capable of a rational solution, to make way for the gloomy visions, the puritanical cant, and the fanatical ravings of the conventicle.

CHAP-

CHAPTER XXXII.

Affairs of Italy—Francis prepares to renew the War—Bourbon's Conspiracy—Campaign in Lombardy—Death of Bayard—Battle of Pavia—The 'Holy League'—Bourbon besieges Rome, and is killed in the Attempt—Siege of Naples—Defection of Doria—Peace concluded.

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FROM an unwillingness to interrupt the chain of events, we have confined our attention, for a considerable time to ecclesiastical history. It will now be proper to take a retrospective view of the transactions of Italy, where the Helvetic people were still destined to act a conspicuous part.

Though endowed with many excellent qualities, and calculated to shine in the humble walks of domestic life, Adrian was totally destitute of those brilliant talents, which

give

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give credit and stability to a throne*. Accustomed from his youth to the seclusion of a cloister, he was utterly a stranger to the pomp, the intrigues, and the refinement of a court. Without taste for sculpture, painting, or poetry, he preferred the pedantic dullness of a commentator, or a grammarian, to the most beautiful passages of Ariosto, or the sublimest compositions of Raffaelle.

In his contest with the reformers, he had the unpriestly candour to admit the truth of many of their allegations; and lamented, with honest tears the various abuses, which pride and venality had gradually introduced into the christian church. A character like this, however meritorious in a private station, appeared contemptible to a people, who had been taught by the talents of a Julius and a Leo, to look for something more splendid than the apostolical virtues of piety, temperance, and humility, in the successor of St. Peter. Compelled, by the duties of his station to

* In the words of Pallavicini, *fù ecclesiastico ottimo pontefice in verità mediocre.*

attempt

attempt the pacification of Europe, that he might direct its united strength against the rapid progress of the Ottoman arms, he was accused by the French of having required on the part of Francis, sacrifices inconsistent with personal and national honour. Whether the imputation be just, or not, the undertaking certainly demanded an extent of genius, and a versatility of talents, to which the Flemish professor was totally a stranger*.

The retreat of the French, after the battle of Bicocca, occasioned a sudden change in the politics of Italy. The dukes of Ferrara and Urbino seceded from their alliance with the defeated monarch; while the Venetians so far forgot their characteristic caution, as to coalesce with a power which threatened to swallow up all their continental possessions. So great indeed was the terror of the imperial name, that Francis was left without any support, except what he could derive from the unshaken

* Robertson, II. 183. Gaillard, III. 11.

fidelity

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fidelity of his Scottish, or the venal courage of his Swiss mercenaries.

He resolved however to face his difficulties with magnanimity. Having ordered his army to assemble at Lyons, he was actually travelling, when an unforeseen event disconcerted his plans, and exposed his kingdom to the most fatal calamities.

The unfortunate attachment of the duchess of Angoulême to the heroic Bourbon was mentioned in a former chapter. To her partiality he had been indebted for many distinguished marks of royal favour; as the frivolous graces of Bonnivet are said to have been far more agreeable than the proud superiority of the constable, to the royal feeling.

It would have been more consistent with dignity of character, to have rejected honours from the hands of a woman, whose fondness he could never return. His heart, incapable of dissimulation, nobly disdained to affect a sentiment, which it could not feel; upon which she secretly determined to humble the man, who had rejected her

proffered

proffered hand *. The docile indolence of her son, being easily persuaded to suspend his pensions, Bourbon, in a spirit of haughty independence, increased the magnificence of his equipage and retinue. CHAP. XXXII.

In right of his wife † he inherited many large estates in the southern provinces of France, and of those Louisa resolved that he should be deprived. In the prosecution of this iniquitous design, she was assisted by the chancellor Duprat, a man who to great professional talents, united the disgraceful vices of a sordid mind. All the powers of eloquence and chicanery were successively employed to prevent the course of justice, and to establish the claim of the duchess of Angoulême to the appanage of the house of Beaujeu. The king himself was made a party to the cause, and solicited the suffrages of the judges in her favour.

Opposed to such formidable adversaries, Bourbon vainly laboured to establish his

* Robertson, II. 192. Gaillard, III. 18.

† The duchess of Bourbon was daughter of the celebrated Dame de Beaujeu, who governed France with unlimited sway during the reign of her brother Charles VIII. Id. ib.

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right by former precedents. The eternal rights of justice were sacrificed to the pride of an unprincipled woman*.

A process of this nature, which interested the feelings of the wise and the virtuous in every civilized state, could not escape the attention of a monarch so attentive to his interests as Charles V. With secret satisfaction he contemplated the impolicy of his rival, and prepared to turn it to his own advantage. Being thoroughly acquainted with the imperious temper of Bourbon, he directed his emissaries to foment his anger by artful suggestions, and even to offer him the means of revenge. Whatever appeared most calculated to exasperate pride, or to excite ambition, was presented to his imagination under the most captivating colours. He was even promised the hand of the emperor's sister, with an independent throne, to be erected upon the ruins of his dismembered country†.

It is a delicate question for the casuist to resolve, whether any injuries are sufficiently great to justify rebellion? To suffer

* Gaillard, III. 25, &c. † Robertson, II. 193.

unmerited

unmerited wrongs with unshaken constancy, and thus to rise superior to the ingratitude of princes, or the fluctuating tide of popular opinion, is perhaps the noblest effort of heroic virtue. But the frailty of human nature is too often incompetent to the arduous trial. Seduced by the proffered friendship of Charles, and hurried away by the violence of his resentment, he in an evil hour renounced his allegiance*. CHAP. XXXII.

It was hardly possible for a conspiracy, which required the intervention of so many subordinate agents, long to escape observation. His actions were attentively watched, and the suspicions, which they excited, were communicated to the king. But Francis, incredulous alike from indolence and from generosity, refused to listen to their insinuations, till the constable had time to escape†.

Surrounded by domestic enemies, that prince found it totally impossible for him to quit his kingdom; and totally ignorant

* Gaillard, III. 33. † Robertson, II. 194.

CHAP. XXXII.

of the extent of the plot, yet no motives could induce him to suspend his meditated invasion of Italy. Bonnivet was therefore entrusted with the command of the army, and ordered to cross the Alps without loss of time*.

A more imprudent choice could not easily have been made; yet, in spite of the incapacity of his favourite, the campaign was opened with the most brilliant success. Too weak to keep the field, the imperialists retreated toward Lodi, leaving Milan entirely without defence. Of all the qualities essential to the character of a general, Bonnivet possessed only personal courage. Hence moments the most precious were wasted in unnecessary delay; and when at length he determined to lay siege to Milan, his measures were so ill-conducted, that he was compelled by Colonna to relinquish the undertaking, and to retire into winter-quarters†.

During this siege Adrian died; an event

* Guicciard. XV. † Id. Ib.

so gratifying to the Roman people, that they adorned the house of his physician with wreaths of flowers, inscribed satirically, "To the Deliverer of his Country*." The cardinal de Medici again renewed his pretensions to the triple crown, and was seated in the papal chair by the name of Clement VII. 1524.

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As the imperial faction had favoured the election of the new pope, it was universally supposed, that he would adhere to the Austrian interest. Yet to the astonishment of mankind, he affected the most scrupulous neutrality, declaring his intention to lay aside all personal attachments, for the purpose of promoting a general peace. In spite however of every artifice, it soon became evident, that he beheld the power of Austria with a jealous eye; and that, in in his attempts to effect a reconciliation between the rival monarchs, he was at least as much stimulated by the desire of prescribing bounds to the ambition of Charles,

* Id. ib.

CHAP. XXXII.

as by a proper sense of religious duty or a wish of preventing the effusion of christian blood*.

Bonnivet, who in spite of his misconduct, still retained the command, remained in his camp at Biagrassa, expecting reinforcements from France, while the imperial troops were preparing for action under the direction of Lannoy, Pescara, and Bourbon. From an army superior in strength, and led to battle by generals so distinguished, the most decisive victories might be expected; yet the impoverished state of the Austrian treasury rendered all their operations languid and precarious†.

Nor were the finances of the enemy in a more prosperous condition. The profusion of the court absorbed all the supplies, which could be extorted from the misery of a suffering people, and left nothing for the support of the war: Bonnivet was therefore constrained to hazard an engagement, or to abandon Italy to it's fate‡.

* Robertson, ib. 201. Guicciard. ib. XV.

† Id. ib.

‡ Gaillard, III. 130.

The

CHAP. XXXI.

The principle which Colonna* had so long pursued with unvaried success, still regulated the proceedings of the Austrian army. Even the impetuous Pescara, who had so often imputed the wary conduct of the modern Fabius to dishonourable motives, now adhered implicitly to the same prudential plan, confining himself entirely to a defensive system. Yet notwithstanding every precaution, the vicinity of the armies occasioned frequent skirmishes, in one of which an event took place, that gave a character of ferocity to the war. John de Medici, at the head of a numerous detachment, fell in with a body of Swiss, and after inducing them to lay down their arms on the express condition of receiving quarter, put them all to the sword. Incensed at an act of such atrocious perfidy, the Helvetic troops swore to be revenged; and having prevailed on Bonnivet to send them upon a marauding expedition, they retaliated on the enemy by

* That great general died in 1523; *Capitano*, says Guicciardini, *di chiaro nome*. XV.

CHAP. XXXII. every species of cruelty, which vindictive fury could inspire *.

Meanwhile, the situation of the French grew daily more distressing. From their want of necessary supplies, a pestilential malady broke out in their camp, and swept away numbers. Still, however, Bonnivet looked forward with confidence to the arrival of reinforcements from Switzerland. He knew that a large body had already reached the banks of the Sesia; but the contracted state of his finances prevented him from employing the only effectual means of accelerating their march; while with characteristic levity he was shamefully deficient in those punctilios, which might have gratified republican arrogance. The duke of Longueville had promised to meet the Helvetic troops at Ivrea, and to escort them to the camp with a guard of honour. Had the pecuniary contract of Bonnivet been punctually fulfilled, this engagement might have been broken perhaps with safety. But their double dis-

* Gaillard, ib. 132.

appointment excited such a general indig- CHAP. XXXII.
nation, that the troops positively refused to advance*.

In vain the French commissaries had recourse to promises or explanations. The Swiss were deaf to every entreaty; declaring, that since the king had failed in performing his part of the compact, they considered themselves as released from the obligation of their's †.

Bonnivet was now reduced to such a state of desperation, that nothing remained but to attempt a retreat through the vale of Aost. For this purpose it was necessary to cross the Sesia, an undertaking of no small difficulty, on account of the vicinity of the imperialists. Unable to disguise the effects of his own imprudence, he resolved, if possible, to save his reputation by exertions of personal courage. But a wound, which he received in the beginning of the action, compelled him to resign the command into abler hands.

Although justly offended at the beha-

* Gaillard, III. 187. † Mallet, III. 72.

viour

CHAP. XXXII.

viour of the admiral, who had treated his remonstrances with disdain, Bayard forgot all private feelings, when the glory of his country was at stake. Putting himself at the head of the heavy cavalry and a battalion of Swiss, he faced the enemy, and by a desperate resistance saved the artillery. In this gallant attempt he received a mortal wound, and being conscious of his approaching dissolution, directed his attendants to place him beneath the shade of a spreading oak*.

In his pursuit of the fugitives, Bourbon arrived at the scene of death, and with the warmest expressions of sympathy, tendered every assistance which friendship or compassion could afford. "Weep not for for me," exclaimed the expiring hero; "for I fall, as a soldier ought, in the service of my king. I envy not your laurels; they are dearly purchased, at the expense of your honour†."

Never, perhaps, was Helvetic valour

* Gaillard, III. 140.

† Mem. Du Bellay. May, V. 8.

exerted

exerted with greater effect. Forming themselves into condensed squares, the Swiss withstood all the efforts of the Spanish infantry, and compelled them to relinquish the pursuit. CHAP. XXXII.

The last campaign, however decisive in the emperor's favour, contributed but little to accelerate peace. The expectations of Charles kept pace with his fortune, while adversity served only to stimulate his rival to greater exertions. For this purpose, ambassadors were despatched to the Helvetic diet to solicit additional levies. But their reception was cold and discouraging; the cantons refusing to listen to their proposals, till the jewels of the crown, as security for the payment of the stipulated subsidies, were deposited at Berne*. 1525.

The imperial forces, enfeebled by the unsuccessful invasion of Provence †, were no

* Mallet, III. 75.

† The story of this unfortunate expedition, of which an able detail is given by Robertson (II. 217.), comes not within the scope of Helvetic history. But in the Italian wars, the Swiss constantly acted a memorable part. They were

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no longer in a situation to face the enemy. At the approach of the French, they were compelled to abandon Milan, and to shelter themselves under the cannon of Pavia. This rapid success made Francis believe his armies invincible, when led to battle by a beloved monarch. Persuaded that it would be no difficult task to complete the conquest of Italy in a single campaign, he detached the duke of Albany, with six thousand men, to invade the kingdom of Naples. This measure betrayed a want of prudence, scarcely admitting an excuse. The fate of that fertile country evidently depended on the operations in Lombardy. The party, which proved victorious there, must necessarily dictate laws to the rest of Italy. So conscious was Pescara of this important truth, that he prevailed on Lannoy to leave the southern provinces at the mercy of the French, with a view of con-

were not, indeed, the most conspicuous personages on the stage; but their behaviour, as auxiliaries, gives an insight into the national character, which no domestic occurrences can supply.

centrating

centrating their forces for the defence of Pavia*. CHAP. XXXII.

The king was advised by his ablest general to undertake the siege of Lodi, which was known to be destitute of provisions; but Bonnivet obstinately contended for attacking Pavia †. That it's capture would have decided the fortune of the campaign, historians in general agree; but the fortifications were strong, the garrison was numerous, and the commander was Antonio de Leva.

Aware of the distress, to which the soldiers from the unusual severity of the season, must be exposed, Francis resolved to push his operations with unabating vigour. The Spanish generals, on the contrary, were reduced to a state of inaction, and awaited with impatience the arrival of Bourbon, who was gone into Germany to levy troops. De Leva's situation grew every day more critical; opposed to an enterprising foe, he was able to place little

* Guicciard. XV. Gaillard, III. 200.

† Gaillard, ib. 187. Mem. du Bellay, II.

reliance

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reliance on the fidelity of his garrison of mercenaries, who were so entirely disheartened by fatigue and suffering, that they declared their resolution to surrender the town, unless their arrears were instantly paid*.

At this important moment, Bourbon arrived with twelve thousand Germans, whom he had raised entirely on his private credit. Under himself, they were commanded by the baron de Fronsberg, a man of gigantic stature, intrepid courage, and long experience in the art of war†.

The activity and address, which Bourbon displayed in the execution of his difficult mission, filled Lannoy and Pescara with astonishment; but the feelings of the latter were not exempt from jealousy, nor would he have beheld with displeasure the humiliation of a rival, though effected at the expense of the public service‡. Such likewise was the influence of the constable

* Gaillard, ib. 202.

† Fronsberg has left some curious memoirs relating to his own campaigns.

‡ Gaillard, III. 206.

over

over the minds of his soldiers, that they were devoted to him with the blindest submission. Being utterly destitute of funds for their support, he taught them to submit to their sufferings with cheerfulness, by heroically participating in them all. To those of more elevated character, he presented the wreath of victory as an adequate recompence for every toil; while the boasted treasures of the royal camp afforded attractions to the sordid, congenial with their habits of plunder and devastation. CHAP. XXXII.

Upon Bourbon's arrival, it was resolved immediately to attack the king; for so great was the distress of the imperial army, that delay was equivalent to a defeat.* Apprised of their intentions, Francis instantly summoned a council of war, in which all his veteran generals, under the conviction that every motive of policy imperiously dictated a defensive system, unanimously advised him to raise the siege of Pavia, and retire to Biasco, a strong

* Schmidt, XI. 147. Robertson, II. 225.

post,

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post, where he would be at liberty to act as circumstances should require*.

But his pride was too deeply interested, to allow him to listen to these prudent suggestions. He was besides totally ignorant of the real state of the army, and unacquainted with it's enormous losses. He therefore repeated the resolution, which he had so often made, of reducing Pavia, or perishing before it's walls: a resolution farther sanctioned by the chivalrous temerity of Bonnivet, whose ideas of honour were scarcely less romantic than those of his sovereign. In compliance however with the counsels of age and experience, Francis consented to remain within his entrenchments, which if defended by the temperate valour of Prospero Colonna, would have defied all the efforts of Bourbon.

On the 24th of February the imperialists advanced to the attack, with such impetuosity, that they penetrated the line of the French. They were speedily, however,

* Gaillard, III. 222. Robertson, ib. 226.

compelled

compelled to retire*. The Austrian commanders, who had depended solely on the first impression, began now to despair; and had Francis been able to restrain his vehemence, he had nothing farther to apprehend. But the sight of a flying enemy was irresistible. Putting himself at the head of the cavalry, he pursued the fugitives into the open plain. This fatal error was instantly remarked by Bourbon and Pescara; who rallying the German and Spanish bands, charged him in front, while the marquis del Guasto by a masterly evolution fell on his rear. Chabannes observed the danger to which his sovereign was exposed, and flew to his assistance with the Gueldrian infantry; but Bourbon, whose active genius seemed in every place at once, where skill or courage could avail, enveloped the column by a dextrous movement, so that scarcely a single soldier escaped†. CHAP. XXXII.

* The events of this memorable day are beautifully detailed by the eloquent pen of Gaillard, III. 228, et seq.

† Varillas thus expresses himself; *Serrant les bandes noires, comme dans une tenaille, ils les ecraserent entierement.*

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under him. Pomperant, a Frenchman of rank, who had accompanied Bourbon in his flight, recognised the fallen monarch, and penetrating through the ranks conjured him not rashly to throw away a life so necessary to his country. The duke of Bourbon, he said, was at hand, and would receive his sword.

At the name of Bourbon, indignant pride, flashed from his eye, and he swore rather to perish by the hand of the meanest soldier, than afford to a rebel a triumph so illustrious. At the same time he offered to surrender to the viceroy of Naples. Lannoy hastened to the spot, and kneeling down received his sword, presenting him in return with his own; "as it was unfit," he said, "that so great a prince should remain unarmed in the presence of a subject."

On his way to the viceroy's tent, Francis beheld many of his Swiss guards extended lifeless on the ground. Turning to Lannoy, with tears in his eyes, he paid the noblest tribute to Helvetic valour in the following exclamation: "Had all my troops

"behaved

"behaved as gallantly as those brave CHAP. XXXI.
"men, I should not have been your pri-
"soner."

The loss of the French amounted to upward of ten thousand men, among whom fell many of the principal nobility.* That of the Swiss was proportionably great, as three thousand were killed, and a still greater number taken prisoners. "This circumstance alone," says the judicious Mallet, "ought to exempt the Hel-

* The death of the gallant Chabannes in particular was marked by circumstances of such atrocity, as to awaken indignation in every virtuous mind. After having performed prodigies of valour, he was taken prisoner by Castaldo, a Neapolitan officer high in the confidence of Pescara. Castaldo, who possessed the feelings of a soldier, treated his illustrious captive with the utmost attention. In the way to his tent, he met a ferocious Spaniard of the name of Buzarto, who calculating from the magnificence of the captive's armour the value of the acquisition, insolently demanded a share in the ransom; but finding that nothing could be extorted from the fears or the generosity of the victor, the inhuman monster fired a pistol into the breast of the defenceless veteran, exclaiming with malicious triumph, "Now make the most of your prize." May. Brantome, Hommes Illustres, Art. la Palice.

CHAP. XXXII.

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" vetic troops from the imputation of cowardice; since it cannot be supposed that " so many perished, without having previously made an obstinate resistance."*

" It is notorious also," adds the same historian, " that the Swiss requested permission to attack the imperialists, when they were driven out of the entrenchments; but the king, probably from an unwillingness to share with others the glory of a victory rejected the offer. Hurried on by the same thirst of fame, he placed himself between his own artillery and the enemy, thus rendering it, in a great measure, useless†."

The news of this defeat spread dismay throughout the cantons, and so great was the sensation excited, that it was even proposed in the Helvetic diet, to decimate the battalion, which had rendered itself infamous by it's capitulation‡.

Desirous of palliating the errors of their

* Id. III. 81. † Id.

‡ Id. 82.

king,

king, the French writers have attempted to exculpate him at the expense of his allies. That the conduct of the Swiss was in one instance at least, open to censure, their warmest advocates are unable to deny; but this fault was fully expiated by the unshaken attachment manifested toward Francis in his adversity. Instead of forsaking a fallen friend, as worldly prudence might have suggested, they nobly determined to grant the regent of France whatever levies she might require, and to accept no subsidies, till some favourable change should improve the finances of that exhausted kingdom*.

The situation of the imperial army was far less enviable, than might have been supposed. Destitute of every resource, except what they could derive from the plunder of Italy, the commanders were compelled to levy such enormous contributions in the duchy of Milan, that they not

* Id. May, V. 8.

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only impoverished the country, but reduced the duke (for whose defence the war was ostensibly undertaken) to the condition of a slave. Sforza felt the indignity with manly shame; and panted after an opportunity to revenge it.

Nor were the others powers of Italy more exempt from apprehension. They knew that their duplicity had given just cause of offence to the victorious party, and hated the emperor, because they had injured him*. Morone watched the opinions of his countrymen with the eye of a statesman, and being fully convinced that the power of the French had ceased to be formidable, he secretly resolved by uniting with them to liberate Italy from the Austrian yoke. But it would be deviating essentially from our original plan, to follow this crafty minister through all the mazes of his crooked policy, or to depict the in-

* Belcar, 18. Guicciard. XVI. *Odisse quem læseris* is noted by one, who knew human nature very well, as one of it's most general properties. (Tac. Agric.)

terested

terested ambition of Pescara, in all it's de- CHAP. XXXII.
viations from the path of integrity*.

It is a striking feature in the annals of human inconsistency, that a man like Francis, unrestrained by the dictates of probity, should consider the sanction of papal authority as a necessary preliminary to perjury. Yet that monarch, though determined to violate the treaty of Madrid, did not venture to throw aside the mask, till he had received a dispensation from Rome. Possessed of the wonder-working antidote, he instantly set the ties of honour and the scruples of religion at defiance† 1526.

Whatever were the real objects of the confederates, it was thought advisable to assume the tone of moderation, and to disguise their projects under the specious plea of reinstating Sforza in his hereditary rights. Having secured the co-operation of English gold and Helvetic steel, they prepared to take the field with an army of thirty

* Guicciardini has given a detailed account of the intrigues of these celebrated men. (XVI). Robertson also admirably describes the villainy of Pescara, II. 240.

† Robinson, ib. 260.

thousand

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thousand men. In order to fix the capricious temper of Henry VIII., they gratified his vanity by declaring him Protector of the League, which in compliment to the pope was proudly decorated with the prostituted title of 'Holy'.*

Had the finances of Charles been commensurate with the magnitude of his plans, the liberties of Europe must infallibly have been overthrown. But although possessing an extent of dominion far greater than that of any contemporary prince, and master of all the treasures of the western world, he was often destitute of funds to pay his troops. Hence frequent murmurs arose, which the popularity of Bourbon was scarcely able to repress. Though no man was more eminently gifted with the qualities which captivate admiration, that illustrious exile still felt that the patience of men must at length be exhausted, and that promises repeatedly broken will ultimately cease to delude. He knew also that the duchy of Milan, which in opposition to the

* Robertson, Ib.

best

best feelings of his noble nature he had been compelled to oppress, was no longer able to furnish supplies. And while he was exerting every nerve to support the drooping fortune of the imperial arms, he discovered that Charles had acted toward him with all that ungenerous duplicity, which formed the most striking feature in his character. He farther felt that, though apparently entrusted with unlimited authority, he was surrounded by creatures prepared to refuse obedience to his commands, the moment he deviated from the general outline prescribed by the imperial court*.

Under these circumstances, he embraced a resolution, which equally displays fertility of genius, and the extent of his difficulties. Having committed the government of Milan to Antonio di Leva, in the midst of a rigorous winter he put himself at the head of an army, composed like that of Annibal of various nations, strangers to the manners, the language, and the religion of each other.

* Robertson, ib. 276. Guicciard. 17.

In

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In a tone of security, well calculated to inspire confidence, he announced to his troops a speedy termination to all their sufferings. Under so kind and so enterprising a leader, no hardships were deemed intolerable, no undertaking appeared impracticable. How indeed was it possible for any to complain, when they beheld the proudest and the most accomplished of men lay aside the distinction of rank, to share with the common soldiers in all his sufferings*!

It is the opinion of most contemporary historians, that when Bourbon quitted Milan, he was totally undecided as to his future plans. By leading his armies into the
1527. southern provinces of Italy he secured supplies, and was perfectly at liberty to regulate his actions, as the current of events might direct. This conjecture, however, by no means accords with his general character. To his bold and ambitious spirit, the conquest of Naples presented irresist-

* Id. XVIII. Robertson, II. 278. Gaillard, III. 398.

ible

ible temptations; and while the plunder of Rome furnished ample resources, a justification might be found in the ingratitude of Charles*. CHAP. XXXII.

But whatever may have been his original design, it's execution displayed a persevering courage, rarely equalled in the annals of war. In spite of the difficulties, which would have subdued the constancy of most other men, he persisted in his purpose. Neither the murmurs of a mutinous soldiery, whose patience was exhausted by repeated disappointments, the inclemency of a season more than commonly severe, nor the want of money, artillery and stores, could shake his resolution†. For some time, his projects were wrapped in impenetrable obscurity; but on quitting Tus-

* Some historians pretend that it was Bourbon's intention to make his peace with Francis at the expense of of Charles. Mercrai speaks of a letter of his to the king, in which he says, *Naples vous donnera des preuves de ma repentance, et justifiera ma faute.* But as he does not mention the place where this letter may be found, his assertion seems entitled to little credit.

† Guicciard. XVIII. Brantome, IV. 246. Gaillard, III. 400, &c.

cany

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cany he declared his intention of assaulting the capital of the christian world.

When we reflect on the state of the human intellect at the commencement of the sixteenth century, and recollect that great numbers of Bourbon's soldiers were natives of Spain, a country degraded by the most abject superstition, we might imagine this proposal would have been received by his catholic troops at least, with abhorrence. No such abhorrence appeared. Arrived within sight of Rome, Bourbon pointed to its magnificent edifices and congratulated his delighted followers, that riches, and fame, and pleasure were about to repay them for all their toils*.

It is not our intention minutely to describe the operations of that memorable day, nor the subsequent atrocities of a licentious soldiery, inflamed with the love of gold, and rendered callous to every feeling of humanity, by the death of their chief. Suffice it to observe, that while the timid pontiff appealed to heaven

* Gaillard, III. 410. Robertson, II. 283.

for

for miraculous aid, the Swiss guards defended the walls with an intrepidity worthy of their former reputation. Perceiving the result doubtful, Bourbon snatched a scaling ladder from the hands of a common soldier, and rashly mounted the steps. But while thus animating his men by his example, he was struck in the groin by a musket-ball. He instantly perceived that the wound was mortal, and desired an officer, who fought by his side, to cover his body with a cloak, lest the loss of their general should dishearten the troops*.

Thus fell the gallant Bourbon†, at the very moment when he was about to realise

* Memoires de du Bellay. Gaillard, III. 412. Robertson, II. 284. Guicciard. IV. 238.

† In the entertaining autobiography of Benvenuto Cellini, we are told by that eccentric artist, whose versatile talents were capable of assuming the most opposite characters, and excelling equally in all, that he was himself the author of Bourbon's death. But as he subsequently assumes the merit of wounding the prince of Orange, we are almost induced to question his veracity; since it is scarcely credible that two such illustrious persons should have fallen by the hand of an Italian sculptor. (Vita di Benvenuto Cellini da lui Medesimo scritta.)

his

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his most chimerical hopes, by rendering himself master of the treasures of Rome. In an age of romantic heroism, few characters can be found to equal that of this unfortunate prince. Though continually counteracted by the jealousy of those, whose glory he eclipsed, he surmounted every obstacle by his courage and address; nor does any thing seem wanting to complete his renown, except to have fallen in defence of his country.

In order to convey to the reader some faint idea of the dreadful scenes which ensued, we must call to his recollection the capture of Ismail, and the cruelties of Suwarrow at Warsaw. For the space of two months, the pillage continued with unabating rapacity; during which the miserable inhabitants, without distinction of age, rank, or sex, were exposed to every species of brutality. The most sacred objects of religious worship became the mockery of the victorious Germans, who thought no chastisement too severe for men hostile to the doctrine of Luther. In their excess of misery, says a contemporary writer, the

wretched

wretched Romans looked back with gratitude to the days of Attila; so light was the tyranny of an idolatrous conqueror, compared with what they actually suffered, from the soldiers of a catholic king*! CHAP. XXXII.

Meanwhile, the situation of the emperor was far more brilliant than secure. For, though his Italian army was superior in numbers to any which he had hitherto assembled, from their habitual relaxation of discipline, they refused obedience to any commander, except the prince of Orange, whom they elected general by acclamation; nor could they be prevailed on to evacuate Rome, till all their arrears were discharged†.

The delay, occasioned by this mutinous conduct, allowed time for the confederates to collect an army under Lautrec, of which Switzerland furnished a considerable part. Desirous of retrieving the national honour, Lautrec opened the campaign with an ac- 1528

* See Jovius. Guicciard. IV. 240. Robertson, II. 287. Gaillard, III. 419. Sleidan Comm. 6. Schmidt, XI. 206.

† Guicciard. XVIII.

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tivity, which could hardly have failed of success, had he been cordially supported by the Italian powers. But as he knew from undoubted authority, that Sforza and the Venetians were preparing already to betray him, he thought it advisable to secure their fidelity by fear, and directed his march toward Rome*.

At the approach of the French, the imperialists concluded a treaty with Clement, and retired to Naples, whither they were pursued by Lautrec. Resolved to commence the siege without loss of time, he invested the city by land, while Andrew Doria, the ablest seaman of his age, blockaded the port. Thus every thing concurred to favour Francis, when with his wonted indiscretion, by offending Doria, he rendered abortive all these judicious arrangements†.

The defection of Doria afforded an opportunity for the garrison to receive supplies, of which they stood in the utmost need. A pestilential malady broke out in the French camp, and swept away great

* Robertson, II. 297.

† Ib. 307. Gaillard, IV. 49.

numbers,

numbers, among whom was the unfortunate Lautrec; and the marquis of Saluces, who succeeded to the command, was reduced to the humiliation of laying down his arms*. CHAP. XXXII.

Exhausted by the magnitude of his efforts, Francis could no longer indulge a rational hope of success; while his victorious rival began seriously to consider the difficulties of continuing a war, the expenses of which were so enormous. Other causes also concurred to inspire an inclination for peace. Hungary was menaced by the Ottoman arms; the German empire was convulsed with religious dissensions, which his bigotry panted to exterminate; while Spain, enfeebled and impoverished by the protracted contest, expressed her dissatisfaction in repeated complaints.

Such was the disposition of the belligerent powers, when Margaret of Austria and the duchess of Angoulême, met at Cambray for the avowed intention of negociating a pacification. Mutual concessions

* Mallett, III. 118. May, V. 8.

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led to a treaty, in which Francis, with a selfish short-sighted policy, consented to sacrifice to his own immediate advantage, the interest of his allies*.

* Robertson, II. 317.

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CHAPTER XXXIII.

War renewed between France and Spain—Death of Francis—Charles attacks the Protestants in Germany, and destroys the Smalcaldic League—Henry II. pays court to the Swiss—Disputes arise respecting the Principality of Neuchatel—Maurice of Saxony defends the Liberties of Germany—Charles resigns his Crown—View of Manners, Literature, and the Arts.

SCARCELY had the treaty of Cambray restored tranquillity to Europe, when the rival monarchs of Spain and France began again to prepare for war*. The superiority of the Spanish arms was a constant source of mortification to Francis. Charles, likewise, was sensible that he had sacrificed interest at the shrine of vanity. Instead of hastening to Italy after the

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* Gaillard, IV. 159.

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battle of Pavia, where he might have dictated the law with uncontrouled authority, he preferred the gratification of an ungenerous pride, in exhibiting his illustrious captive among his Castilian subjects. Thus an event, which threatened to shake the balance of Europe, was productive of nothing more important than an extravagant ransom, abundant abuse, and ineffectual challenges; which by giving an air of ridicule to the quarrel, degraded the reputation of the greatest sovereigns in Christendom*.

The same good fortune, which had delivered Francis into the hands of Charles, made the pope his prisoner the ensuing year. What a moment to have realised his mightiest projects! But from the well-timed jealousy of the other European princes, who began to entertain more correct notions of their real interests, the restoration of the Roman empire and the attainment of universal dominion, which for an

* Voltaire, Hist. Gen. a work always lively, frequently ingenious, and sometimes profound

instant

instant seemed within his grasp, vanished away. CHAP. XXXIII.

By abandoning his allies at Cambray, Francis forfeited the confidence of the Italian states; but there was another sacrifice, which he was preparing to make, that proved far more injurious to his reputation. In spite of his bigotted attachment to the religion of Rome, he declared himself the protector of the German protestants, whom Charles was beginning to persecute; and in open defiance of prejudice and superstition, he concluded an alliance with the Turks*.

Nothing was now required for the commencement of hostilities, but a plausible pretext. Nor was that long wanting. The 1535.
assassination of Marveille† roused the just indignation of the French monarch, and he again unsheathed the sword. Having advanced by rapid marches into the heart of Lombardy, he applied to the mercenary magnanimity of the Swiss. But no temptations could induce the cantons of Berne

* Robertson, II. 380. † Id. ib. 379.

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and Zuric to grant additional levies to the persecutor of their religion in France. They declared to the diet, that "through "the grace of God they had resolved to "abolish the inhuman traffic, which had so "long subsisted to the shame and the ruin "of their country; and trusted that their "co-estates would concur in a measure so "agreeable to the divine command." From the enthusiastic stile, in which the message was conveyed, it was easy to discover that this salutary change was due to the exhortations of the protestant divines. It was impossible, however, to communicate the same impression to the other cantons, whose zeal as yet was too feeble to withstand the allurements of gold.

It may be proper to remark, that the objections of the Bernese senate to what they termed 'an inhuman traffic,' did not extend to their ancient conventions, which they fulfilled with punctilious exactness. Nor were they steadfast even to their present resolution. By dint of importunity the French monarch ultimately procured such large reinforcements, as enabled him to

to support the dignity of his crown against the gigantic power of Austria. CHAP. XXXIII.

In 1536, a numerous body of auxiliary Swiss was assembled in Picardy, and rendered essential service during the siege of Peronne. The following year, they joined the army before Avignon, and assisted Montmorency in the defence of Provence. In 1538, they repulsed the imperialists in Piedmont, and were particularly distinguished at the attack of Susa*. The capture of Veillane ought likewise to be ascribed to their persevering valour†.

Though released during the short suspension of hostilities, from the labours of active service, no sooner was the signal given for war, than they joined the Gallic standard. In vain did the imperial court employ all the arts of flattery and intrigue, nothing could induce the diet to assist a prince, to whom they justly imputed the blackest crimes‡.

* May, V. 8. † Id. ib.

‡ The murder of Fregosa and Rincon, who were assassinated by the order of the Spanish general. Robertson, III. 3. Histor. Venet. di Purata, IV. 125.

The

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The glorious success of the two ensuing campaigns was almost entirely owing to

1543. the discipline and activity of the Swiss. Additional laurels were obtained at Cerisoles, where the young duke of Enghien gave an early presage of his military genius, by defeating the veteran cohorts of Spain, though nearly double in number to his own army, and commanded by the most experienced general of the age*. The loss of the vanquished was prodigious, as the Helvetic infantry refused to give quarter, in retaliation of the cruelties exercised at Mondovi†.

The continual wars, in which Francis was engaged, had so completely exhausted his finances, that his troops were frequently in want of pay. The unshaken constancy of the Swiss, under every hardship, is mentioned by Du Bellay in terms of the warmest approbation; and he even records the names of several colonels, who by the sacrifice of their private fortunes prevented a mutiny.

* The Marquis del Guasto.

† May, V. 8. Bellay, 429, &c.

The

The French king did not long survive a general peace. He fell a victim to his unbounded gallantries in the fifty-third year of his age. The character of this accomplished prince has been so ably drawn by the masterly pen of a modern historian*, that scarcely any thing remains to be remarked. With that eloquent writer we agree, that from a combination of fortunate circumstances the reputation of Francis has been rated much higher than his moderate talents deserve. By the partial judgment of a nation once prone to view the actions of monarchs with proverbial partiality, he has been allotted a place among the greatest of sovereigns. The distinguished patronage, which he afforded to science and the arts, rendered all men of letters his friends; and gratitude thus combining with the attractions of royalty, from a patron they exalted him into a hero. Nor were his amiable qualities in private life without their influence upon the opinions of a people, among whom

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* Robertson, III. 132.

social

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social wit, and elegant acquirements, held of old no inconsiderable station in the scale of moral virtues. Seduced by his personal accomplishments, they forgot that affability and grace might be connected with habits, the very reverse of those which are essential to the happiness of a nation. Polished manners, refined conversation, and personal beauty, delight and dazzle in the drawing-room, and at the ball; but a sound understanding, and an uncorrupted heart, prudence and economy, benevolence and justice, are the only qualities which can adorn and dignify a throne.

The schism which had taken place in the religious opinions of mankind, still continued to agitate the vales of the Alps. The dispute was no longer confined to theologians and scholars, but spreading through every class of society, formed the vulgar topic of conversation, and gave rise to a thousand absurdities. For this reason, it was thought requisite, in the protestant cantons, to lay down some abstract principles for the regulation of faith; and it was farther proposed, that these articles should

should be submitted to the examination of a general council, which was shortly expected to meet.

In order to accomplish this important point, conferences were held at Arau and Bâle; in which many very intricate tenets were successively examined by the Helvetic divines. Strange as it may appear to those who are acquainted with the proceedings of ecclesiastical assemblies, the abstrusest questions of theology and metaphysics were canvassed with temper and moderation. Arrangements were even taken, respecting the most proper method of celebrating the eucharist; and certain proportions were established relative to the nature of original sin, and the free agency of man, without endangering the lives or even the liberty of the disputants. This is called 'the First Confession,' to distinguish it from another, which was not completed till 1566.

The efforts of the government, to unite the followers of Luther with those of Zuingle, were not attended with equal success; as both parties adhered with pious obstinacy

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obstinacy to their respective opinions. This want of harmony is the more to be lamented, because it proved highly detrimental to the political strength of the protestants.

Fortunately, however, the rival sects confined themselves to the pulpit and the pen, so that the nation enjoyed an uninterrupted calm. Divided into two parties of nearly equal power, the Swiss had learned from experience to tolerate each other's errors, with the apparent composure of philosophers; though many private citizens, swayed by their religious attachments, enlisted under the banners of Geneva or of Rome.

1542. At this important juncture, an ecclesiastical synod assembled at Trent. Paul III. who was little inferior in profligacy to the most dissolute of his predecessors, being unable any longer to elude the wishes of the christian world, convened a general council. For this purpose, however, he artfully selected a moment, when the distracted state of Europe rendered it not less difficult, than dangerous, for the northern prelates

lates to attend. Accordingly, after opening the session with all the usual forms, and waiting several months in affected expectation of the arrival of their transalpine brethren, the papal legates contented themselves with proroguing the assembly to a more convenient opportunity*.

Meanwhile Germany was convulsed by religious dissensions, which were productive of important events. Delivered from his most formidable enemy by the peace of Crespy, Charles began seriously to occupy himself in forming plans for the extirpation of the protestants, whose principles political and theological were equally obnoxious to his despotic and bigotted feelings. The present moment appeared highly favourable for the accomplishment of his project, as they were not only weakened by the assistance so liberally granted to their ungenerous opponent in the Turkish war, but were, notwithstanding all the engagements of the Smalcaldic league, unfortunately disunited by private discord†.

* Fra Paolo Istoria del Concilio Tridentino. I. 187.

† Robertson, III. 50.

Had

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Had not this treacherous plan been defeated, little doubt can be entertained that the bloody tragedy would have terminated by the destruction of liberty it it's last continental refuge, the mountains of Switzerland. The first measure adopted, by the imperial chamber, was the revival of various antiquated claims, which the independence of Helvetia had virtually abrogated. Many members of the confederacy* were officially called upon to furnish their contingents to the imperial army. The diet however not only refused to listen to the unfounded demand, but remonstrated against it in such energetic language, that the haughty emperor deemed it advisable to desist.

Having now brought his schemes to maturity, Charles published a rescript, commanding the protestants to suspend all farther innovations, till the council of Trent had leisure to examine the subject, and

* The bishop of Coire, the abbot of St. Gall, together with the towns of Shaffhausen, Bâle, and Mulhausen. Mallet, III. 287.

requiring

requiring them to conform implicitly to the decision of that illustrious synod. Aware of the danger that must attend submission, they refused to acknowledge the validity of an assembly, which avowedly aimed at their destruction*. CHAP. XXXIII.

The first proceedings of the council fully justified their apprehension; while the reports which arrived from every quarter, of the hostile intentions of the imperial court, evinced, that no time was to be lost in providing for their security. 1545.

Great indeed was the emperor's consternation, when he found that, in spite of internal jealousies, the Smalcaldic league had collected an army more numerous than any which he himself could bring into the field. Formidable however as this force appeared, it was defective in the most essential point; it wanted a general. The conscientious irresolution of the elector of Saxony induced him to repose implicit confidence in the promises of an enemy, who had no other object but to deceive.

* Fra Paolo, II.

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This timidity fettered the enterprising genius of the landgrave of Hesse, and rendered all his plans abortive. Availing himself of this fatal supineness, and having gained the interested support of Maurice of Saxony, Charles bade defiance to his foes. The battle of Muhlberg decided the ruin of the protestant cause, and delivered both it's leaders into the emperor's hands*.

Though it is difficult to suppose, that the protestant cantons could have beheld these events with indifference, no national act betrayed the smallest symptom of alarm. On the contrary, the diet declared to the imperial ambassador, as it had previously done to the Smalcaldic League, that they were resolved to preserve the strictest neutrality. The only step, which indicated a just sense of the impending danger, was a renewal of their mutual promises, to assist each other in the event of an attack. It is easy, however, to explain the motives of this apparent indifference on a

* The perfidious behaviour of the emperor toward the landgrave, casts an indelible stain upon his memory. Robertson, III. 139; Sleid, 426; De Thou, I. 359.

subject.

subject, in which passion and prejudice were so deeply interested. Each party was persuaded that an active interference would kindle the flames of religious war in the heart of Switzerland.

A too rigid adherence to this pacific system, under different circumstances, proved essentially detrimental to the general interests of Helvetia. The city of Constance seemed placed by nature within the limits of republican Helvetia; and by it's incorporation would have raised an insuperable bulwark on the northern frontier. Having long enjoyed all the franchises of an imperial city, it had contracted an alliance with several of the cantons, in quality of an independent state. The protracted seat of a General Council, it received an influx of wealth, which, wisely employed, would have secured to it the enjoyment of permanent prosperity. But all these advantages were indiscreetly squandered during the Swabian war. At the conclusion of that sanguinary contest, the citizens were not only constrained to cede the Thurgau, but forfeited every claim to protection from

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the confederacy. The spirit of innovation, which distracted the adjacent provinces, soon found it's way within the walls of Constance. After embracing the doctrines of the reformed church, the inhabitants confiscated the ecclesiastical revenues.

In consequence of this decisive step, Berne and Fribourg concluded a treaty of coburghership with Constance, which was afterward annulled, at the peace of Cappel, by the preponderating influence of catholic bigotry. Deprived of every hope on the part of Switzerland, the disconsolate citizens addressed their petitions to the protestants of Germany, by whom they were admitted members of the Smalcaldic League. The tide of war having turned against them, they found themselves treated by the haughty victor like a conquered province. Fearful however of giving umbrage to the Swiss, if he proceeded at once to extremities, Charles contented himself with imposing a form of worship, qualified indeed by the name of 'Interim,' on account of it's containing some temporary regulations, which were to continue in force only

only till a general council assembled. Permission was granted to those ecclesiastics, who had already entered in the marriage state, to retain their wives, and the cup was allowed to the impatient laity*. These artful concessions were clearly intended to lull the fears of the protestants, while by a happy mixture of apprehension and hope, they kept Clement dependent on the imperial throne.

Contrary however to the expectations of the emperor, the artifice was too gross to deceive. The citizens of Constance were not sufficiently fashioned to the yoke, to bend beneath it with passive servility. They loudly declared their determination never to conform to any liturgy, which was repugnant to the doctrines of the reformed church.

Charles had now recourse to more decisive measures, hoping to silence opposition by an exemplary act of severity. Alphonso Vives, a Spanish officer, was selected as the instrument of royal ven-

* Robertson, III. 173. Fra Paolo, III. 21.

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geance. Induced by the prospect of an abundant spoil, he undertook at the head of a band of needy adventurers, bold and rapacious as their leader, to assault the town by night. But this atrocious project was luckily defeated by the vigilance of the burghers, who repulsed the assailants with considerable slaughter.

The loss sustained upon this occasion proved scarcely less favourable to the emperor's projects, than the most decisive victory could have done. Alarmed at the dangers of a protracted contest, or seduced by the arts of corruption, the people declared in favour of the 'Interim'. The most opulent families deserted their native walls, to seek an asylum in some foreign land: and deputies were despatched to Vienna, with unconditional offers of submission.

The imperial troops immediately entered the city and re-established the catholic worship, to the exclusion of every other sect. During the ten succeeding years, Constance was subjected to martial law; when Charles at length in spite of the remonstrances

monstrances of the Suabian league, prevailed upon the diet to confirm his usurpation. CHAP. XXXIII.

It is difficult to examine the behaviour of the Swiss at this important crisis, without lamenting the changes which a century had produced in their national character. Internal jealousies, religious prejudices, and the narrow policy of commercial calculation had deadened those noble feelings, which had so frequently of old astonished and overwhelmed the slaves of despotism.

Deprived of the blessings of independence, Constance sunk under the united pressure of bigotry, ignorance, and inactivity. Though situated in a spot peculiarly adapted to mercantile exertion, it's once crowded streets were soon disfigured with weeds and grass. The deserted houses fell into decay, while the privations of poverty were still farther aggravated by the offensive contrast of ecclesiastical luxury. Amidst the dilapidations of private property, and the wreck

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of public freedom, the clergy had found favour in the conqueror's sight*.

The ill fortune, which attended the protestant cause from the frontiers of Switzerland, to the banks of the Elbe, excited serious alarm in those cantons, which had shaken off the tyranny of Rome; nor could they contemplate the intimate union, which now subsisted between the emperor and the pope, without the most lively apprehensions. Exposed from it's situation to the first attack, the canton of Berne suggested the propriety of adopting some general plan of national defence; and even proposed as a preliminary step, a formal renewal of the constitutional oath. Various obstacles however arose, which prevented this suggestion from being carried into effect. According to ancient precedents, the saints were to be invoked as witnesses and guarantees of the engagement. But the protestant divines had taught their congregations to entertain pious doubts, respecting the

* Mallet, III. 290.

prerogatives

prerogatives of those holy personages, to whom preternatural powers were still attributed by the deluded votaries of Rome. They accordingly, with more zeal than prudence, requested that their names might be omitted in the formulary; while the catholics objected, with equal obstinacy, to every innovation of this description as heretical: and the dispute was maintained on both sides with so much acrimony, that the project itself fell to the ground*. CHAP. XXXIII.

The death of Francis was far from extinguishing the rivalry which had so long subsisted between France and Austria. Henry II. beheld with regret the decisive preponderance of the imperial court, since the fatal battle of Muhlhausen; and as a similiar sentiment was known to prevail in Switzerland, nothing was on his part ommitted which could tend to strengthen the ancient tie. The Helvetic ambassadors were, in consequence, received with the most flattering marks of regard,

* Stettler, II.

when

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when they arrived at Paris to compliment him upon his accession; and as a farther proof of his affection, the cantons were invited to become sponsors to a princess whom the perfidious Catherine had given to the world*.

Under the influence of these royal attentions, all the republics, except Berne and Zuric, concluded a treaty with France, by which the alliance signed in 1521 was confirmed; with the addition of several clauses, respecting the number of auxiliary troops, the term of their service, and their annual pay†. But those two governments could not view with indifference the rigorous measures adopted by Henry for the extirpation of protestantism, and positively refused to increase the number of subsidiary troops: and their influence was too considerable for the French cabinet to dare to manifest it's displeasure, though the

* May, V. 9. Zurlauben Histoire Militaire des Suises, IV. 20.

† This treaty may be found in a collection entitled, *Recueil des Alliances entre la France et la Suisse.* Berne, 1732.

resolution

resolution was so repugnant to their hopes and expectations. CHAP. XXXIII.

In the course of the preceding pages, we have seen a treaty of coburghership concluded between Berne and Neuchatel, by which all differences which might arise between the two states, were left entirely to the decision of the senate. The principality of Neuchatel had since devolved on Rodolphus, margrave of Baden, whose son and successor having left only one daughter, the territories in question were conveyed with her hand to the house of Longueville; and that illustrious family 1552. being now without lineal descendents, they became an object of contestation between various collateral branches.

To determine the claims of the different competitors belonged indisputably to the provincial states, since it had been expressly guaranteed to them by the treaty with Berne. They accordingly decided to divide the principality between the dukes of Nemours and Longueville, both of whom were related to the deceased in an equal degree. But the ambition of the former disdaining

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disdaining a partition, he applied to Henry for a revision of the sentence, under pretence that the parliament of Paris was alone competent to examine a question, which involved the interests of his most illustrious subjects. This attempt was not only repugnant to every principle of equity, but militated directly against the essence of the constitution, which for all similar cases had provided a specific remedy. The senate of Berne, therefore, thought it expedient to interfere, and applied to the king for redress.

Anxious to conciliate the friendship of a people, whose co-operation was essential to the success of his future plans, Henry listened to their remonstrance, and having appointed them arbiters in the dispute, they immediately decided in favour of Longueville*.

The counts of Gruyers have been frequently mentioned among the most potent families of Helvetia: but like most of the great feudal barons, they wasted their patrimony in petty wars, or in frivolous pageantries. Secured against foreign aggres-

* Mallet.

sion

sion by those tremendous bulwarks, which nature has raised for the defence of Switzerland, they had no external enemy to fear. From their lofty battlements they beheld a rich and connected domain, abounding with the comforts of life, and peopled by a hardy and industrious race. But every blessing was sacrificed to the gratifications of vanity. The count, who had entered into the service of France, beheld with envy, and aped with fatal rivalry, the splendid equipages and retinues of the princes of the blood. Having exhausted the patience and purses of his creditors, he was at length compelled to sell his patrimonial domain to Berne and Fribourg, and to retire into France, where he speedily terminated his career in penury and contempt*.

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Charles had, hitherto, trampled with impunity upon the rights and liberties of mankind; but while he was pursuing his system of oppression, to the dismay and indignation of the world, he indiscreetly raised a hero to curb his tyranny. Since the fall of the unfortunate elector, Mau-

* Ib.

rice

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rice of Saxony was become the most powerful of the German princes. Endowed with extraordinary talents, and indifferent to the means which he employed when fame or power were in view, he excelled in all those qualities which form the accomplished statesman. Till now, the emperor had been regarded as a perfect model of political sagacity. But Maurice aspired to the more permanent glory of restoring freedom to his degraded country, and conducted his schemes with such exquisite address, that he deceived the most artful and vigilant of mankind *.

Since the defeat of the protestants, Charles no longer deigned to set bounds to his pride, but appeared at the diet of Augsburg, surrounded by his Spanish guards, imposing laws and dispensing crowns with the uncontrouled authority of a conqueror. With secret horror Maurice contemplated the yoke that was preparing for Germany; as he could no longer doubt that it was the emperor's intention, by the

* Robertson, III. 283.

annihila-

annihilation of the privileges of the Germanic body to render himself as absolute in his elective dominions as he had already become in his hereditary states. CHAP. XXXIII.

Animated with feelings more congenial with the character of a hero, than those by which he had obtained the imperial favour, he began secretly to court the protestants, whom he had so lately betrayed; and having privately negociated with every power, which dreaded the aggrandisement of Austria, he advanced to Inspruck with so much rapidity, that he not only compelled the emperor and his brother to save themselves by a precipitate flight, but even dictated, at Passau, the terms of peace *.

Meanwhile Henry II. at the head of a well-appointed army, had taken Toul, Verdun, and Metz †. Desirous of retrieving his tarnished reputation, Charles assembled his veteran bands, and invested

* Robertson, III. 259. Schmidt. De Thou, X. 2. 58.

† De Thou, X.

the

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the latter place, which with unpardonable neglect had been left nearly destitute of all necessary supplies. Yet notwithstanding the superiority both of discipline and numbers, he was ultimately compelled to raise the siege by the transcendent genius of the duke of Guise*. The Swiss, as usual, had no inconsiderable share in the glory which followed the Gallic arms; for while six thousand assisted in the defence of Picardy, another body served under Albert of Brandenburg, and a third protected Franche Comté against all the efforts of the imperialists†.

Fortune, having once declared herself the enemy of Charles, seemed delighted to humble his arrogance. At Renti he again experienced her frowns‡; while the duke of Alva, after having boasted that he would drive the French out of Italy in twenty days§, was compelled to retire before the Duke of Brissac. A fruitless attempt to recover Metz, by the treachery

* Id. XI. † Mallet, III. 315.

‡ De Thou, XIII. § De Thou, XV.

of

of an intriguing monk, completed the emperor's disgrace*. CHAP. XXXIII.

Disgusted with the instability of human greatness, disappointed in his favourite project of leaving the imperial crown to his son, and reduced to decrepitude by excessive fatigue, Charles embraced a resolution, which displays the vanity of ambition in the most striking light. Renouncing the world, with all it's cares and it's glory, he surrendered his dominions to Philip, and retired into a convent in Spain†. 1556.

It is not our business to scrutinise the motives which inspired this extraordinary resolution, though they have excited the ingenuity of contemporary historians, and given rise to a thousand conjectures.

No prince, before him, bade fairer to have realised the chimerical project of universal empire, if he could have ever seriously cherished so romantic a hope. A rapid series of triumphs exalted his fame

* Ib.

† This memorable transaction is ably related by Robertson, III. 354.

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to the highest pitch; yet he wanted the energy of soul necessary to improve them *. The victory of Muhlberg delivered the protestant leaders into his hands, and thus dissolved the only confederacy which seemed capable of setting bounds to his ambition. His defence of christendom, against the warlike Solyman, was the most splendid action of his reign. Yet were we to select the moment when he most deserved the applause of the wise and virtuous, it would be that of his return from Tunis, attended by eighteen thousand christians, whom he had rescued from captivity.

The sixteenth century exhibits a scene of splendour, well calculated to excite admiration in every bosom capable of sympathising in the progressive improvement of the human mind. If we examine the characters of those illustrious personages, who reigned from the Northern Ocean to the Nile, they will exhibit a melancholy contrast with the present times. In the east,

* I borrow from Abbé Raynal, Histoire Phil. & Polit. VII. xix.

we

we behold the warlike Selim succeeded by his son Solyman, the greatest and most accomplished of the Ottoman race. Deservedly successful in every undertaking, he conducted his victorious cohorts to the gates of Vienna, and received the crown of Persia within the walls of Bagdat. In the north, Gustavus Vasa liberated his country from the Danish yoke. In Italy, Spain, and Germany, the restless ambition of Charles V. diffused animation over the scene; while in Francis I. we observe a romantic spirit of glory, more fitted to shine in the career of chivalry, than in the less brilliant paths of political wisdom. His misfortunes also may afford a useful lesson, by teaching those who are born to govern others, that prudence is the most precious attribute of a king. CHAP. XXXIII.

It is usual for foreign historians to assign a distinguished place among the heroes of that prolific age, to the English sovereign Henry VIII. Circumstances, it must be confessed, gave an importance to his actions, to which caprice and inconstancy have little claim. For unless in-

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stability of temper, which no interests could fix, nor any ties restrain, and a disposition savage as that of Caligula, are the characteristics of an enlightened mind, we must boldly vindicate the rights of humanity, by allotting to him his proper station among the most detestable tyrants, who were ever born for the misery of mankind.

A cultivated understanding, a just and elegant taste, manners highly refined, and a passionate attachment to literature and the fine arts must ever endear the name of Leo X. to the artist, the poet, and the philosopher. Educated by the celebrated Angelo Politian, he did honour to the instructions of that distinguished scholar. No prince ever carried his love of genius to greater excess; since it sometimes tempted him to patronise works, which as a christian bishop he was bound to condemn. He suffered the comedies of Macchiavel and Ariosto to be represented on a private theatre in the Vatican, though replete with irreligious sarcasms and indecent allusions. It may be alleged, however

ever in his excuse, that it had been almost the invariable practice of his predecessors to disregard attacks made upon religion, provided they left the papal prerogatives untouched.

It was the distinguishing felicity of this era, that amidst the controversies of theology, and the turmoils of war, a spirit of improvement continued to spread with unabating rapidity. The state of Venice, of Rome, and of Florence recalled to the memory of the student the delightful period, when Pericles presided over the Athenian republic. While the refined gallantry, which prevailed at the court of France, contributed to soften the general manners, and to introduce that well-bred courtesy in social intercourse, which long rendered Paris the school for politeness.

By the nature of our subject we have been repeatedly conducted on the classic soil of Italy; but it has generally been to contemplate human nature under her most hideous form, groaning beneath the weight of guilt or the yoke of oppression. Let us now view that interesting country un-

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der a happier aspect, as the favoured seat of science and the arts. There the painter, the sculptor, and the architect, animated by the study of those immortal productions, which the magnificence of the Medici had rescued from oblivion, created works which would not have disgraced the purest ages of antiquity. There also the poet, soaring on the wing of genius, sung the enterprises of paladins and enchanters, in numbers harmonious as those of the Mantuan bard.

In Tasso we admire purity of stile, melodious versification, and the most elegant selection of images; but if we deem originality of thought, fertility of invention, and sportiveness of fancy, essential criteria of poetic excellence, we must lay the palm on the shrine of Ariosto.

A bold and comprehensive imagination led Michel Angelo to disdain those little accessaries, which give grace and interest to a picture. Enraptured with the sublimest conceptions, he regarded colouring as below the dignity of genius. Ambitious of displaying his superior powers in elevated ideas, and anatomical delineations

of

of muscular strength, he scorned to court applause by those pleasing compositions, which charm alike the consummate artist and the man of taste. Hence, it frequently happens, that after examining the Cappella Sistina with unbounded astonishment and awe, we quit it unsatisfied, to gaze with rapturous admiration on the more genial beauties of Raffaelle. CHAP. XXXIII.

Assisted by Bembo, and the most eminent literati of the age, Raffaelle gave a new and more vivid language to the pencil, and animated the walls of the Vatican with a living epitome of poetry, philosophy, and theology. All preceding painters had contented themselves with delineating some particular action or passion, as the martyrdom of St. Peter, or the marriage of St. Catharine. For this incomparable artist it was reserved to attempt a bolder flight; to express the miraculous interposition of providence in arresting the progress of a victorious army*; and to describe the impotence of human might, opposed to

* Should the public be ever gratified with the ingenious Treatise of the late M. d' Hancarville, on the works of

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to the impulse of divine power, in clear and intelligible language.

The history of Guicciardini is still read with pleasure, notwithstanding it's irksome prolixity, a defect into which he seems to have fallen from an injudicious imitation of the ancients.

Father Paul, in his narrative of the proceedings of the Council of Trent, displays such accurate judgment, such copious learning, and such deep and perspicuous reasoning, as have not only rendered entertaining a subject, which in less able hands would have been dry and uninteresting, but have entitled his work to a distinguished place among the most perfect models of historical composition.

The Mandragone of Machiavel, in spite of its indecency, evinces a genius of no common cast; while his political writings still enjoy the reputation of unrivalled excellence. From a mistaken idea of his real motives, it is by no means unusual for

Raffaelle (which I once saw in manuscript) this prodigy of painting (the Attila) will be illustrated to the meanest capacity.

moral

moral writers to stigmatize by an epithet borrowed from the name of Machiavel, whatever is base and insidious in the art of government. But, situated as he was, he could only venture to expose the crimes of sovereigns to the just indignation of mankind, by the ingenious artifice of recommending the vices, which he meant to satirize, as models for statesmen to pursue. Such a combination of crimes as he comprehends in the portrait of an accomplished prince, must excite universal abhorrence; and it is difficult to suppose that a man, possessed of his exquisite discernment, could have seriously meant, what he has there advanced. Yet the web was so curiously woven, that it continues still to deceive. In the present age of intellectual improvement, many may be found, even among those who venture to reflect and reason, by whom Machiavel is regarded as an author of the most dangerous tendency. CHAP. XXXIII.

It would be an endless labour to notice the long list of poets, who have little poetical beside their rhimes. Harmonious versification

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sification is a wretched substitute for want of imagination; nor will a pedantic affectation of classical literature compensate for trite or insipid conceptions.

Of the progress of architecture we have a splendid example in St. Peter's church, which, in spite of it's defects, is the noblest of christian temples.

Philosophy was still buried in the turgid pedantry of the schools. Galileo was the first who ventured to shake off the shackles, with which a servile respect for ancient opinions had long fettered the human mind. The persecution of that extraordinary man, were it their only crime, would alone suffice to render the Inquisition an object of universal abhorrence. A committee of ignorant monks, having declared the opinions of Galileo not only heretical, but even contrary to the principles of true philosophy, compelled the sublimest genius, that modern Italy has produced, to beg pardon of God for having instructed his creatures to understand his works, and to admire the simplicity of the machinery, by which he regulates the motions of the universe.

The

The illustrious Roger Bacon had already made such astonishing strides in chemistry, that he incurred the suspicion of sorcery. To him the invention of gunpowder is attributed, though he studiously concealed the secret. "It was thus," says the ingenious Raynal, "that philosophy escaped from a convent, and left only ignorance behind*."

It is a singular circumstance in the history of science, that the revival of literature was in a great measure due to a people, who were originally it's enemies and destroyers. Every one is acquainted with the ferocious ignorance of Omar, and has heard of his fanatical speech when he consigned the Alexandrian library to the flames. Yet, in the course of a few centuries, we behold the victorious Saracens leading genius and philosophy in the train of conquest. The invention of Algebra, by substituting a concise and easy method to the complicated arithmetic of Greece and Rome, facilitated the labours of calcula-

* Histoire Philos. et Polit. VII. 19.

tion.

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tion. Astronomy and Medicine derived considerable improvements from the Mahomedan schools. To them we are also indebted for the preservation of Aristotle, whose works were rescued from the ruins of ancient Greece, and translated into the Arabic tongue*. Thence was derived the Latin version, though sadly disfigured by the bigotry of the monks, who undertook the task of translators, and who seem to have studied less to explain the system of that celebrated philosopher, than to adopt his opinions to their own confined notions of religion.

This unsuccessful attempt occasioned a confusion of ideas, which considerably retarded the progress of reason, and ultimately produced that motley edifice of Gothic structure, the Philosophy of the Schools. Replete however as it was with defects, it was of use to the world by paving the way for more useful attainments, and introducing order into the discussion even of the dullest topics which

* Gibbon, VI. 426.

theology

theology could propound. Accustomed not only to subdivide ideas with subtilty and precision, but to represent them under every possible shape, in order to mask or to elude an attack, the logician became gradually acquainted with the nature and extent of his intellectual faculties, and thus laid the foundation of that analytical system, which has eventually conducted to the sublimest results*.

We should deceive ourselves, however, were we to entertain any high idea of the progress made previously to the close of the fifteenth century. A superficial knowledge of astronomy; some chemical experiments, for the most part confined to chimerical researches after the philosopher's stone; a general notion of algebra and geometry, scarcely sufficient to appreciate the superiority of the Arabs, or to understand the works of the ancients; with a few astronomical observations, perplexed and degraded by the prevailing mania of

* This subject is ably discussed by Condorcet, in a little work, entitled *L'Esquisse d'un tableau des progrès de l'esprit humain.* Septième epoque.

judicial

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judicial astrology; such appear to have been the imperfect aggregate of scholastic erudition*.

But though the abstruse sciences were still in their infancy, the mechanic arts were far more advanced. Mulberry trees were cultivated in the southern provinces of Europe, and manufactures of silk were established in several of the principal towns. Windmills, and paper-mills, were in general use. The discoveries, however, which most essentially conduced to increase the comforts, the knowledge, and the powers of man, were those of printing, of gunpowder, and of the compass. The Chinese, it is supposed, had been long acquainted with the properties of the loadstone, before they were suspected in Europe; but no sooner were it's wonderful qualities ascertained, than the enterprising spirit of man led him to visit the remotest regions, in search of knowledge, and of riches, and of glory. Having carefully examined the laws and customs, the manners and pro-

* Id. ib.

ductions

ductions of distant nations, he transported to his native land whatever could contribute to it's improvement or it's prosperity. By the discovery of America in particular, a wider field was unexpectedly opened for the display of ambition and of industry, for the indulgence of avarice and superstition. CHAP. XXXIII.

The invention of gunpowder subjected the new found hemisphere to the genius of Europe, by placing a gigantic power in the hands of civilized man, which confounded the ignorance and the courage of his rude fellow-creatures. A total revolution now took place in military tactics. Wars became less sanguinary than they had been, when the combatants contended hand to hand with the sword, the battle-axe, and the spear. But as they diminished in bloodshed, they increased in expensiveness, and required more abundant resources. Thus, in the political scale, riches now balance force. A long and costly preparation is necessary to enable belligerents to take the field; nor have the luxurious any longer reason to dread those barbaric irruptions which overturned the empire

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empire of Rome. In former times a suit of armour, a lance, and a war horse gave a superiority to the knight, which no personal exertions of his adversary could resist. But this difference no longer exists; the musket levels all distinctions, and reduces the hero and the coward to a sort of equality. The tactics of Helvetia were diffused over Europe. By the campaigns of Italy the military character of the Swiss was raised to the summit of glory, and the world was convinced that they could only be resisted by the adoption of a similar system. Thus the heavy-armed cavalry grew gradually into disrepute, and was replaced by a well-disciplined infantry.

Before the invention of printing, learning was necessarily confined within the narrow circle of the rich. But no sooner did instruction issue from the presses, than the cloud was removed, by which the mind had so long been enveloped in darkness and error. A speedy communication of ideas took place between nation and nation; and a tribunal was erected, in the public

public opinion, from which neither rank nor wealth nor power was exempt. By the multiplication of copies, every scientific discovery was rapidly conveyed to the extremities of the civilised world. Thus, every progressive step was converted into a basis for genius and ingenuity to work upon. Every new discovery was examined through a microscopic glass by the collective wisdom of philosophers; and as it proved correct or fallacious was adopted or exposed.

No event conduced more essentially to the propagation of knowledge than the reformation. The papal government had long reposed upon a shallow foundation. Undermined and shaken by the repeated attacks of reason and philosophy, it was imperceptibly falling into decay, when by a sudden and dreadful explosion it was violently overturned. Desirous of extending their own prerogatives, temporal sovereigns grew jealous of an authority, which claimed a paramount dominion over all other "principalities and powers;" and encouraged the reformers in their projects, insensible

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or indifferent to the troubles that might ensue. Meanwhile, an active spirit of inquiry pervaded all ranks of people, and prepared their minds for the reception of the boldest truths.

Under these circumstances, the birth of two such men as Columbus and Luther was sufficient to change the face of the universe. For while the latter burst the chains of superstition, and restored to the human mind it's glorious privilege of thought; the former gave an additional stimulus to industry, by opening new channels to enterprise and speculation. For the first time, man became acquainted with the planet which he inhabited, was enabled to contemplate his own species under every gradation of improvement, and studied the various productions of nature in every clime and temperature. An extensive commerce presented abundant materials to science, and the arts. The shackles of feudal tyranny were broken, and the awakened vassal found arms and resources in active labour, by which he was enabled to assert his inherent rights.

Till

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Till now the voice of reason had been stifled by the terrors of the inquisition, and opinions repugnant to the interests or the prejudices of Rome punished as heretical. Luther appeared, and holding in his hand the book of truth boldly proclaimed, that the papal religion was not the religion of Christ. The principles of the reformers were disseminated from the shores of the Baltic to the Mediterranean sea with unexampled rapidity, and with results scarcely less favourable to the progress of freedom than to the diffusion of literature. An enlightened people will not long submit to servitude. By exploring the principles of government, and investigating the causes for which civil associations were originally formed, they soon discover that magistrates are instituted for the universal benefit, not for the advantage of particular families or castes. The claims of theocracy, and the doctrine of the divine right of kings, fell to the ground. They arose in the midst of darkness, and disappeared before the meridian splendor of reason, like the vapours of the night.

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The sciences, in general, were cultivated by the reformers with unremitting perseverance. Pillicanus informs us, that before the time of Luther it would have been impossible to procure a single Greek testament throughout Germany; and we are told by Clenard, that there was hardly a person in Spain, who understood the Latin tongue. Among those, who affected the reputation of learning, the most disgusting pedantry prevailed. Under the pompous appellation of Ciceronians, a few pretended to elegance of stile. Others, who called themselves grammatical antiquarians, employed only the obscure and obsolete phrases which had been judiciously exploded by the polished writers of the Augustan age.*

Many also of the protestant divines were eminently distinguished for their literary attainments. Melancthon not only excelled in learning and eloquence, but possessed an amenity of manners, which rendered his conversation amusing as it was instructive.† Reuchlin was one of the

* Bayle, art: Raynaud. Note I. † Mosheim.

restorers

restorers of letters in Germany, and upon that account was hated and persecuted by the Monks.* And Capito, who sowed the seeds of the reformation at Bâle was one of the profoundest scholars of the age†.

But the literary fame of Erasmus rose superior to that of all his contemporaries. In an age of controversial theology, it is delightful to meet with an advocate for moderation and for truth. Though warmly solicited by the papal party, he nobly disdained to prostitute his pen in the cause of corruption; nor did he hesitate to condemn the precipitation of the Pope, in having ordered a book to be committed to the flames, before its doctrines had been proved to be erroneous. "The regular mode of proceeding," he said, "would have been to refute it first, and to burn it afterwards." With equal impartiality toward the opposite party, he frequently censured in Luther his violence of temper, though attached to him by the strongest ties.

* Jortin's Erasmus. † Id. ib.

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From many passages in the writings of Erasmus, we may fairly infer that he secretly inclined to the opinions of the reformers; yet, when exhorted by them to join in attacking the authority of the Vatican, he modestly answered, "If the corrupt practices of Rome stand in need of a corrective, it is not for me to apply it. In the present state of human affairs, it is surely more prudent to support even great abuses with patience, than in attempting to reform them to endanger the repose of mankind." To the partisans of Leo he excused himself by saying, "That Luther was a man of talents too powerful for him to encounter; as he had derived more useful information from a single page of his writings, than from all the works of Aquinas*." This remark, though perfectly just, must have sounded strangely in the mouth of a catholic divine.

How much he despised the controversial theology then in vogue, appears from the

* Jortin's Erasmus.

following

following passage, which is marked with the keenest satire. "The Europeans," says he, "are preparing to make war "against the Turks*. Should the event "prove fortunate, it is natural to suppose "that some attempt will be made to con- "vert them. In that case, what method "will be pursued? Shall we put into their "hands the works of an Occam, a Du- "randus, or a Scotus? If we do, what must "they think of us (for they are rational "beings) when they hear of our intricate "subtilties concerning instants, formalities, "quiddities, and relations? What will they "say, when they see the Jacobins quar- "relling in defence of their Thomas; or "the Minorites fighting for their seraphic "doctor†." What a picture is this of ra- tional disputation and christian charity!

* Though the observation may possibly be deemed unnecessary, yet, in the present situation of affairs, I cannot refrain from recalling to the reader's memory the prophecy related in Sully's Memoirs. "That the Franks were destined to expel the Ottomans from Europe." Whether the event is now more probable, than it was in the days of Henry IV. I leave the reader to decide.

† Id. ib.

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The stile of Erasmus is generally natural, frequently eloquent, and always animated. His fancy was quick, his invention ready. No author composed with greater facility, but he could never bring himself to submit to the drudgery of correcting. He has been accused indeed from his hurry in writing of having occasionally neglected the harmony of his periods, and the choice of his expressions. But this, according to his own account, arose principally from habitual indolence, which he candidly owns himself unable to subdue. "I precipitate," says he, "rather than compose; "and it is a thousand times less fatiguing "to me to write, than to correct what I "have written. Though, to confess the "truth, I do not think, that it becomes an "author, who treats such important topics, "to be over delicate in the selection of "words, as that would be wasting his precious time*."

This carelessness however did not proceed wholly from the dislike, which he felt for

* Id. ib.

laborious

laborious study. He was disgusted with the pedantry of the age, and endeavoured to avoid a defect, which he so severely censured in others. Disdaining to be fettered by the slavish rules, which 'the Ciceronians' affected to follow, he attended more to the matter than to the stile, accommodating his expressions with graceful adaptation to his subject, and perfectly aware that the surest method of commanding attention is to render a work entertaining. CHAP. XXXIII.

Of a naturally timid character, he does not attempt to conceal his weakness; but honestly declares, "that he felt no incli-"nation to die in defence of the truth.---"Every man," he adds, "is not endowed "with the courage requisite for a martyr:" and owns, that "brought to trial, he should "be tempted to imitate St. Peter."---"I "follow," says he in another place, "the "decisions of the popes, when they are "right, which is acting religiously; and "I submit to them, when they are erro-"neous, which is acting prudently. This "appears to me to be the proper line of con-

"duct

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"duct for a wise man to pursue, when "he can entertain no hope of doing "good*."

Thus occupied, either in combating superstition and ignorance, or in promoting religion and learning, Erasmus endeavoured to accomplish his purpose by gentleness and moderation; confining his satire to the offence and generally sparing the offender. His behaviour, in this respect, formed a perfect contrast with that of Luther, who was frequently impelled, by his violence of temper, to treat his opponents, without regard to their rank or situation, with personal insolence and contempt. The former undoubtedly more extensively promoted the welfare, but the latter more generally conciliated the affection of mankind. We admire Luther, we love Erasmus.

Having taken a cursory view of the state of society in Europe, we shall find on directing our attention more particularly to-

* Id. ib.

wards

wards Switzerland, that it offers a less brilliant spectacle to our eyes. Even there, however, we discover many marks of amelioration, as most of the protestant cantons had not only suppressed their monastic institutions, and permitted the clergy to marry; but, by reducing the amount of their subsidiary conventions, had produced a rapid increase in the population, and thus laid a basis for agricultural improvement. Meanwhile, religious persecution drove crowds of mechanics out of France and Italy, who brought with them a productive capital, a spirit of enterprise, and the knowledge of many useful arts. Manufactures of cloth, silk, and linen were in consequence established in several of the principal Swiss towns, which proved an increasing source of comfort and prosperity*.

To the licence and excess arising from a military education, succeeded the blessings

* Meister, Hauptszenen der Helvet. Geschichte, I. 172.

of

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of domestic enjoyment, and a rigid observance of every moral duty.

The stage is, in general, a living picture of national manners; and we accordingly find that the few dramatic productions of the Helvetic muse, which have been transmitted to posterity, are better adapted to the austerity of a cloister, than for the instrustion or the entertainment of an enlightened audience. One of the most popular comedies of the age was written by Rouefs, a surgeon of Zuric, and was represented for the first time in the public market-place in 1550. The story, founded on the Mosaical account of the creation, exhibits a motley compound of dullness, extravagance, and folly*. Manuel, a banneret of Berne, wrote another theatrical piece, which was greatly admired by his unpolished countrymen. It was intended to satirise the papal court, but was more

* It can hardly be necessary to remark that a production of a similar kind, by Andreini, exhibited on the Italian stage, gave birth to the Paradise Lost. This was indeed creating light out of darkness!

remarkable

remarkable for buffoonery than for wit. In the favourite scene, which lies at Rome, St. Peter is introduced with a monstrous pair of spectacles on his nose, to search for his successor in the apostolic chair. After exploring every corner of the city, he declares, with a very significant look, "that no such person can be found *!"

The few public amusements, tolerated by the reformers, were constructed on the principles of a republican constitution, and calculated to excite the liveliest emotions of patriotism. Hunting parties were frequently given to the people, who were afterward entertained, at the expense of the government, with all the simplicity of a Spartan banquet.

Ecclesiastical tribunals were established in all the protestant towns for the inspection of morals, and were armed with authority for the punishment of vice. By these, no offence was more rigorously punished than that of adultery. The woman,

* Meister, I. 173.

if

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if guilty, was deprived of her fortune, which went to her husband for life, and after his death to her nearest relation; for in the eye of the law, she ceased to exist, when she ceased to be virtuous. The treatment of the man was less severe, a fourth only of his property being allotted to his wife. But neither party was permitted to re-marry*.

To inquire how far sumptuary laws may be beneficial in small republics, would lead into too extensive a field of political disquisition. It may not, however, be improper to remark, that they are in general indicatory of confined conceptions; and proves rather that a government is unacquainted with the true principles of commerce, than that it is sinking under prodigality, luxury, or corruption.

How little the comforts of life were understood, we may learn from Voltaire, who informs us that during the reign of Francis I. only two coaches were kept in Paris;

* Meister, I. 175.

one

one appropriated to the service of the queen, and the other to that of Diana of Poitiers. All other persons visited on horseback, the husband carrying his wife behind him, wrapped up in an oil-skin cloak*.

The account which has been given of the dramatic productions, will serve to convey an adequate idea of the literature of Switzerland. Although a taste for the classics was gradually spreading throughout the Alpine vallies, no traces are discernible of a pure and polished taste. A superstitious veneration for the ancients was regarded as the surest proof of genius; and their works were beheld with the same bigoted devotions which had been formerly paid to the relics of saints and martyrs. Fruitless however as it would prove to search after well turned periods, or a graceful and elevated stile, we still find useful materials and authentic documents in the writings of Stumpf, Tschudi, Bullinger, and Simler; while natural history owes many obligations to the laborious researches of a Wolf

* Hist. Gen.

and

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and a Gesner. But the most valuable production of the Helvetic press was the famous translation of the Bible, published at Zuric in 1541, and reprinted by Stevens in 1543.

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CHAPTER XXXIV.

Internal State of Switzerland---Death of Henry II.---Francis II.---Charles IX.---Projects of the Duke of Savoy---Renewal of the Alliance with France---Berne surrenders the Pais de Gex---St. Bartholomew---Henry III.---The League---Henry IV. succeeds to the Throne of France---War of Mulhausen---Duke of Savoy attempts to surprise Geneva---Disturbances in Appenzel---Massacre in the Valteline---Treaty of Westphalia---Insurrection of the Peasants.

WE are now arrived at a period, when the annals of Switzerland afford little to interest a modern reader. Under the character of auxiliaries, they continued to take an active part in every continental war, where they were equally distinguished for discipline, and for valour. But the recital of their mercenary exploits in the

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field belongs rather to the military historian, than to an author, whose aim is to give a general view of men and manners. We shall therefore henceforth confine ourselves to a hasty sketch, without any pretensions to a full or finished picture.

Switzerland now enjoyed a larger portion of domestic tranquillity than it had known since the commencement of it's religious dissensions. Fatal experience had convinced the exhausted polemics, that it was to their mutual advantage to live in peace. It was obvious that the protestants must either mitigate their zeal, or expose themselves to a rupture with the catholic cantons, who were willing to leave the discussion in it's present unsettled state, provided no farther efforts were made to seduce the orthodox from the pale of the church*.

The situation of parties were nearly similar in Germany. Ferdinand, who had succeeded his brother on the imperial throne, attempted by a lenient government

* Meister, I. 190. Mallet, III. 220.

to

to heal the wounds which had been occasioned by the restless ambition of Charles*. CHAP. XXXIV.

The battle of St. Quintin gave a severe blow to France, and afforded a fresh opportunity for the Helvetic states to evince their attachment toward an ancient ally. At that alarming period, when most of the ablest generals were either taken or slain, the diet voted additional levies, determined never to abandon the defeated sovereign till he had retrieved the glory of his arms†.

The death of Henry‡, who was killed in a tournament, almost immediately after the conclusion of a peace with Spain, appeared a signal for every atrocity. During the short and inglorious reign of his successor, the kingdom was a prey to the united scourges of civil and religious discord. Speaking of that melancholy period of disgrace and misery, the virtuous De Thou gives vent to his affliction in the following 1559.

* Mallet, ib. 221. † De Thou, XIX.
‡ Id. ib. XXII.

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words: "I am no longer summoned to paint "the glorious deeds of our heroic ances- "tors, but to describe the misfortunes "which overwhelmed my country; or in "other words, to disclose the crimes and "errors, which brought desolation upon "this once flourishing state, during a "wretched period of forty years *. "No- "thing", continues he, "but my inviola- "ble attachment to the cause of truth could "induce me to undertake the disgusting "task, in the execution of which I shall be "obliged to develope the crimes of the am- "bitious, and the perfidy and avarice of "the great."

Francis II. was nothing more than the phantom of a king. Equally debilitated in body and in mind, he recalled to the recollection of his desponding subjects those despicable drones who had disgraced the throne of Charlemagne; while in his mother they beheld an assemblage of vices and talents, which have been rarely united under a female form. Dissimulation and

* Id. ib.

treachery

treachery have never perhaps been carried to greater excess; nor were the atrocious crimes of Brunehaut and Fredigonde any longer without a parallel in the national annals. CHAP. XXXIV.

The monarch, however, did not live to witness the calamities to which his imbecility gave birth. He was succeeded by Charles IX. at the tender age of ten years. During the former reign the haughty Catharine had been constrained to bend under the preponderating influence of the Guises. But her implacable temper now soared without a rival. Desirous of humbling the house of Lorraine, she encouraged the protestants by delusive hopes, declared the king of Navarre lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and loaded the prince of Condé with favours*. The confidence of the Hugonots was become indispensible for the success of her nefarious schemes, and she accordingly appointed a conference at Poissy, under pretence of deciding all religious disputes. Aware of the mo- 1561.

* De Thou, XXVI.

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tives, which tempted the catholics to attend this meeting, she thus artfully prepared a fresh humiliation for the cardinal of Lorraine, who vain of displaying his eloquence and erudition, ventured rashly to encounter Theodore Beza, the celebrated preacher of Geneva.*

Each party laid claim to victory. As rhetoricians and divines, the reformers evidently triumphed; but as politicians, they erred through excess of zeal. Fanatics alone could have entertained the hope of settling the church-establishment of a mighty nation, on the penurious footing which suited the limited finances of a small republic. It would have been acting more consistently with worldly prudence, to have given way in points of inferior consequence, in which the interests of religion were slightly, if at all implicated. But the mania of innovation had deeply infected the Swiss reformers. Whatever differed from the ideal standard of perfection, established for the regulation of Hel-

* Mallet, III. 324. De Thou, XXVIII.

vetic

vetic faith, appeared to them subversive of religious purity. Yet in spite of the exertions and zeal of the catholics, and the errors committed by the protestant divines, the discussion terminated in favour of the latter, who obtained, from the insidious policy of the queen, many important concessions*. These were regarded by the Guises as a sufficient excuse for taking up arms. From one end to the other, the kingdom was in flames. Both armies at length encountered in the plains of Dreux, when victory declared in favour of the catholics. This battle is remarkable for the captivity of both the generals, Montmorency and the prince of Condé; the latter of whom, since the defection of the king of Navarre, had been declared the head of the Calvinistic party†.

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The temporising conduct of the protestant cantons, at this turbulent period, has been extolled in terms of unqualified praise. But as the catholics exerted every nerve in support of their own communion,

* De Thou, XXIX. † Davila, III.

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it would better have accorded with the character of a free people, to succour their friends in the moment of distress, than to persevere in a tame and suspicious neutrality. It was in vain however for Condé and Coligny to paint the sufferings of the Hugonots in the most affecting terms, or to dwell on the perfidy of an unfeeling court. A barren tear was all that their useless compassion could bestow.

During the course of this bloody contest, many Swiss officers are mentioned in terms of merited applause by May and Zurlauben. But it is not my intention to occupy the reader with a detail of actions, more properly belonging to the history of France. Justice however forbids me to pass in silence the names of Frolich, Tamman, and Pfyffer. The courage of Frolich is highly extolled by Davila and De Thou*. The second fell at the battle of Dreux, after having repulsed the enemy

* By Davila he is called *Uomo par isperienza, è per valore appresso la sua nazione di grandissima stima,* (III.) and by De Thou, (XXX.) *Capitaine d'une grande reputation parmi les Suisses.*

in

in three successive attacks. Perceiving the confusion likely to ensue from his death, the gallant Pfyffer put himself at the head of the regiment now left without a leader, and though abandoned by the royalists, maintained his ground, till Guise came up to his assistance. He subsequently saved the royal family (a deed of doubtful merit) when surprised at Meaux by the vigilance of Condé. At this appalling crisis, Pfyffer requested admittance to the presence, and addressing the queen implored her to confide her sacred person, and that of the king her son, to the valour and fidelity of the Swiss. With his single regiment he undertook to conduct them in safety to Paris, notwithstanding the superiority of the foe; and though repeatedly attacked by their cavalry, with Condé at it's head*, he heroically redeemed his pledge. CHAP. XXXIV.

Meanwhile the protestant cantons were kept in constant alarm by the progressive encroachments of Savoy. Uniting the

* Davila minutely describes the order of march, IV.

sagacity

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sagacity of the statesman with the activity of the warrior, Emanuel Philibert was continually occupied in well-concerted attempts to recover the losses, which his father's imprudence had occasioned. By his marriage with a daughter of France*, he regained the provinces, which had been occupied by the French, in consequence of his alliance with Austria. Still, however, he beheld with impatience a valuable portion of his dismembered territory annexed to the dominions of Berne and Friburg. Aware that the catholic cantons viewed those important acquisitions with a jealous eye, he engaged them by artful concessions to a renewal of their treaty.

Such was the state of Helvetic politics, when Charles IX. having assumed the reins of government, applied to the Swiss for a confirmation of all their conventions with France. By eleven of the cantons, his ambassadors were received with the most cordial demonstrations of esteem. But the senate of Berne pursued a line of con-

* The sister of Henry II.

duct

duct more firm and dignified. Fully sensible of the advantages derivable from an intimate connexion with a power, whose influence might controul the ambition of Savoy, they still from motives of a higher and less selfish character, obstinately refused to comply. Their example was followed by Zuric; but the other cantons proved deaf to their united remonstrances, and signed the alliance at Friburg*. CHAP. XXXIV.

This unexpected opposition, on the part of Berne, was considered by the French court, as a sufficient reason for declining to interfere in their disputes with the duke of Savoy. On the contrary, they affected to second his pretensions, which were likewise supported by the undiscerning jealousy of the catholic cantons. Equally inattentive to their real interests as citizens of a free state, and to their duty as members of the Helvetic League, they urged the propriety of again bringing the subject under discussion, and after extorting a reluctant consent, undertook the office of 1564.

* Mallet, III. 329.

mediators.

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mediators. No sooner were they invested, however, with that sacred character, than they recommended the restitution of the Pais de Gex, as the surest means of preserving the public tranquillity; though the cession would deprive them of a strong frontier, which nature obviously intended for the boundary of Switzerland. Terror and indecision now pervaded every debate. By many, even of their leaders, it was urged, that no reliance could be placed upon the honour or fidelity of their co-estates; since the demon of fanaticism had totally obliterated the love of freedom, and rendered the framers of the Helvetic constitution the abject slaves of superstition. A spirited resistance to the claims of Savoy might expose their country to the horrors of a civil war; as there could be little doubt that their treacherous allies, assisted by the troops and the money of Spain, would espouse a cause, which they blindly revered as the cause of heaven; while by their own indiscretion they had forfeited the friendship of the only prince,

who

who had both power and inclination to give them assistance. CHAP. XXXIV.

In this dilemma, they recommended an expedient, to which weakness and timidity too frequently resort in moments of national distress, and rashly advised the surrendering of a part, as the means of preserving the remainder. Some members however were found, who disdained these pusillanimous counsels. "Had their ancestors," they said, "been actuated by "such dishonourable motives, Helvetia "would still have groaned beneath the "Austrian yoke. It was by a conduct "more suitable to the character of men, "that Tell and Staufacher established her "independence. Besides, was it possible "to abandon a brave and virtuous people, "who implored their protection, without "incurring eternal disgrace."

Suggestions like these were calculated to produce a powerful effect; but every circumstance concurred to frustrate the attempts of the patriotic party. Even Zuric, faithful and conscientious as she was,

grew

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grew alarmed at the gathering storm, and joined in recommending the sacrifice required. The only conditions granted were, that the inhabitants of the ceded districts should be allowed the free exercise of the protestant religion, and that Geneva should be included in the treaty*.

1562. The council of Trent, after having excited the curiosity and the clamours of the world, during an anxious period of eighteen years, was at length dissolved. Convinced from the beginning that no equitable treatment could be expected from a tribunal, by which their cause was prejudged, the protestants refused to acknowledge it's authority. Both in France and Switzerland, a judicious distinction was made between the doctrines of religion and the discipline of the church. The edicts, which regarded the former, were reverenced as oracular by the profoundest theologians of the age; but in questions

* Mallet, III. 334.

of

of discipline the synod, unfavoured by divine inspiration, became fallible in their decisions. It would be difficult perhaps to assign a satisfactory reason, why the same persons should be directed at one moment by the unerring hand of heaven, and abandoned to all the frailties and errors, incident to man in this state of probation, at the next.

Since the peace of Cappel, the inhabitants of Glaris had been exposed to the most vexatious treatment, from the persecution of their orthodox neighbours. With a patience truly evangelical, they had submitted to the most galling oppression, that the genius of fanaticism could inspire; till, wearied by incessant provocations, they at length appealed to the neutral cantons for redress. After a long and animated debate, sentence was pronounced, in strict conformity to the generous principles of toleration. The wisdom of the judges has been amply testified by the experience of more than two centuries, during which period the reformed religion has progressively included within it's circle more than

three

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three-fourths of the actual population of Glaris*.

This happy spirit might possibly have restored harmony and confidence to the Helvetic states, had not the seeds of discord been kept alive by the contagious example of France. The Swiss, as auxiliaries, were frequently compelled to participate in scenes, where they imbibed, as at the fountain head, an inveterate animosity toward all who differed from them, even in the slightest shade of religious persuasion.

A moment like this was too favorable to the cause of superstition to be neglected by a prince, whose dark and savage temper was better suited to the gloomy office of an inquisitor, than to the patriotic duties of a king. Delighted to interfere in the politics of a people, whose fanaticism was so congenial with his own, Philip II. solicited a renewal of the Hereditary Union with the catholic cantons. But this application, at once repugnant to the

* Mallet, III. 330.

views

views of France, and adverse to the interests of the Swiss protestants, encountered a most strenuous opposition. Obstacles also arose in the course of the negociation, which prevented the project from taking effect, although a treaty for the avowed purpose of extirpating heresy was concluded with the pope*. CHAP. XXXIV.

Meanwhile the duke of Alva had assembled a formidable army in Italy, which from the mysterious silence preserved by the Spanish court, occasioned serious apprehensions to the Swiss. But their fears subsided, when that ferocious chief directed his march toward Flanders, where the tyranny of his master had kindled the flame of freedom, and given birth to a revolution, the most arduous and honourable ever effected by the perseverance and the courage of man.

These preparations on the part of Spain afforded a pretext for the perfidious Catharine to reinforce her army with additional levies from Switzerland. Alarmed at the 1567.

* Waldkirch, II. 415.

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suspicious conduct of the court, the protestants commenced hostilities, and were successively defeated at Iarnac, and Moncontour. The former battle is rendered memorable by the death of the gallant Condé, who was inhumanly butchered in cold blood. His death placed the young king of Navarre at the head of the Calvinistic party*.

Repeated victories could not enable Catherine to extirpate the Hugonots in the field. She therefore formed the atrocious design of overwhelming them, by a decisive blow, in the midst of festivity and peace. Terms were accordingly granted to them, scarcely less advantageous than the most successful campaign could have procured. The docile villainy of the inexperienced king was instructed to assume the smile of benevolence, at the very moment when he was plotting the assassination of thousands. All the protestant leaders were consulted, caressed, and flattered. Coligny was admitted into the council, and the hand of the beautiful and accomplished

* Davila, IV.

Margaret

Margaret was bestowed as the pledge of eternal concord, upon the king of Navarre. The horrors of the St. Bartholomew have been so often painted by the indignant pen of history*, that it would be insulting the feelings of humanity to dwell minutely on their details. CHAP. XXXIV.

Is it possible on relating that these barbarities were sanctioned by the example of a king, and perpetrated with alacrity by his obsequious court, to harbour a doubt that a people, capable of obeying the infernal mandate, was reserved by providence for every crime? The French have been erroneously esteemed a mild and generous nation, because they are thoughtless frivolous, and gay. "But one may smile, and smile, and be a villain:" and never have circumstances developed their real character, without displaying in them the most ferocious and sanguinary of the human species. Yet all their cruelties were regarded as objects of exultation, in almost every country, which professed the communion of Rome. At Madrid, the

* De Thou, LII.

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Tiberius of Spain insulted heaven with impious thanksgiving, for having suffered the holy sacrifice to be consummated; while the vicegerent of the benevolent Jesus illuminated the capital of the christian world, in honour of the infamous butchery*.

No sooner had intelligence of this inhuman act arrived in Switzerland, than the protestant cantons embodied the militia, and made every necessary praparation for a vigorous resistance, in the event of an attack.

However callous to the reproaches of an indignant world, or to the stings of an upbraiding conscience, neither Charles nor his mother beheld with indifference the sentiments of a people, to whom, in every war they looked up for support. The French ambassador was accordingly in-

* Not satisfied with prostituting the ceremonies of religion to the praise of assassination, the pope commanded the horrid deed to be commemorated by the pencil of Vasari, one of the ablest painters of the age; and the abominable picture still continues to insult the eyes of mankind, although the enlightened Lambertini, and the benevolent Ganganelli have since filled the papal chair.

structed

structed to explain the motives of their conduct to the Helvetic diet, and by bold accusations to attempt to palliate it's enormity. This commission was executed by Bellievre with all the zeal and ability of an experienced statesman; but it was not within the reach of the most brilliant oratory to persuade a generous nation that Catharine was humane, or Coligny a traitor. The envoy was therefore obliged to content himself with repeating the strongest assurances, that they had nothing to fear for themselves. "The just resentment "of a pious court," he said, "like the "avenging thunder, had struck with de- "solation the devoted spot, but with the "explosion the danger had ceased*.

A general burst of indignation would have proved more creditable to the feelings of a free assembly, than the cautious silence with which this declaration was received. But although their tongues were mute, their countenances betrayed the sentiments of their hearts†.

* Mallet, II. 344.

† When the first impressions of terror were worn off, many

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Charles IX. did not long survive the tragedy, in which he had acted so bloody a part; but perished in the flower of youth, a prey to the keenest remorse. Some authors* pretend, that, before his death he embraced the resolution of abandoning the paths of perfidy; and farther insinuate that his mother, terrified at this unexpected deviation from her precepts, hastened his end by poison†. It would be evincing a total ignorance of the character of Catharine, to suppose any crime too heinous for her bosom to have conceived; but we are less inclined to credit the story of her son's repentance. The man, who, in the generous season of youth could join in the murder of his defenceless subjects, must have been hopelessly destitute of every moral feeling.

It was not in the power of his contemptible successor to restore credit, or energy, to the declining state. Henry III. gave early proofs of military genius; but from the

many of the cantons afforded an asylum to the wretched fugitives, and among others to the sons of the illustrious Coligny, who had escaped from France.

* De Thou, V. 7. † Id. ib.

moment

moment of his grasping the sceptre of France, he abandoned himself to the pursuit of dissolute pleasure, and the unmanly offices of superstition. Successively the tool and the scorn of all parties, he fell by the hand of a fanatic, just as he was beginning to assert the dignity of his throne. CHAP. XXXIV.

During this melancholy period of anarchy and confusion, was formed the confederacy between the princes of Lorraine and the king of Spain for the extirpation of the French heretics, so well known in Gallic history by the odious appellation of 'the League'. At the instigation of Philip, likewise, as it is generally believed, the duke of Savoy engaged in a treacherous enterprise for annihilating liberty and heresy at Geneva, with a view of facilitating his future schemes for dismembering France. But the plot being discovered before it was ripe for execution, an alliance was contracted between Henry III. and the republic of Berne, to guarantee the independence of that city*.

† Mallet, III. 348.

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Compelled to suspend the execution of his favourite projects, Philibert did not live to resume them. But his son under the influence of religious zeal, was less cautious in his measures. Gregory XIII. a man whose irreproachable morals were better calculated for a cloister, than for a court, took fright at the progress of the reformation, and sounded a general alarm. "A considerable part of France," he said, "had "already swallowed the poisonous draught, "and was preparing to place the crown on "the head of an apostate. The contagion "had reached the Low Countries, which, "under the influence of the arch-traitor "Satan had renounced their allegiance to "their God and their prince. In Germany, "heresy was encouraged by the imperial "smile, while it sat triumphantly on the "English throne. To combat successfully "the many-headed monster with success, "activity and union could alone avail; nor "should any weapons be neglected, which "might serve to it's destruction*."

* Mallet, III. 350.

In

In obedience to his summons, a general confederacy was formed for the support of the catholic faith, which branched into various ramifications, and was confided to the management of various chiefs. CHAP. XXXIV.

Cardinal Baromeo, archbishop of Milan, a man of high catholic accomplishments, undertook the attack against the protestant cantons. Convinced that in enterprises of this description, the principal battery ought to be levelled against the mind; he founded a seminary at Milan, under the direction of the Jesuits, for the education of the Helvetic youth; little doubting that the pupils of masters so skilful would become able assistants in the great cause. It was likewise further resolved, that constraint and terror should be occasionally employed, with all their odious auxiliaries, the rack, the faggot, and the axe. This project was communicated, under the seal of secrecy, to the five catholic cantons, to the federative republics of the Valais, and to the bishop of Bâle, by all of whom it was warmly espoused with the

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the characteristic fervour of desperate bigotry*.

The general outline thus traced, the bishop of Vercelli was sent into Switzerland with legatine powers, and received by the orthodox states with every token of respect. More remarkable for commanding eloquence, and a devoted attachment to the papal see, than for discretion or sagacity, the nuncio was delighted with the caresses of the multitude, and believing the grand object of his mission already consummated, without deigning to solicit the consent of the senate, entered Berne in all the pomp of diplomacy. An order from the magistrates, however, obliged him instantly to quit the city; and the threats and clamours of an indignant populace convinced him, that it would be imprudent to delay his departure†.

Meanwhile, the duke of Savoy had carried on a clandestine correspondence with the disaffected citizens of Geneva. Though

* Id. ib. † Id. 351.

unprepared

unprepared as yet to throw aside the mask, he was incapacitated by the impetuosity of his temper from acting with the circumspection necessary to ensure success. Large bodies of troops assembled on the frontiers, intercepted the usual supplies of grain, and prohibited all commercial intercourse. This sudden change too clearly indicating a hostile disposition, the militia of Berne was embodied. The catholic cantons armed on their part. A rupture appeared inevitable; but at the very moment when hostilities were about to commence, tranquillity was restored by the timely mediation of France. CHAP. XXXIV.

Convinced that no valid barrier could be opposed to the increasing power of 'the League' without the co-operation of the Swiss, Henry deputed ambassadors to the Helvetic diet to solicit succours. Although many of the cantons had just cause of complaint against him on account of the irregularity with which their subsidies were paid, they still deemed it politic to dissemble their indignation, lest by an abrupt refusal, they should preclude every hope of obtaining

CHAP. XXXIV. obtaining their arrears. The Zurickers, however, pertinaciously adhered to their former resolution of never assisting a prince, whose hands were polluted with protestant blood*. But the governor of Berne was not equally firm, and the reason assigned for their change was, that it would be highly
1582. imprudent not to support the dignity of a crown, which was speedily to decorate a protestant brow†.

By this convention numerous reinforcements were procured for the royal army, which afforded to the degraded monarch a transient gleam of hope. Nothing, however, could long retard his fall, nor ward
1589. off the blow by which fanaticism terminated his inglorious reign‡.

Henry IV. was eminently gifted with every virtue which can adorn a throne, and render loyalty an act less of duty than of affection. Nursed amidst privations and hardships, he learned magnanimity in the school of adversity; and in the bosom of his native mountains, far from the conta-

* Id. 353. † De Thou, XCVI. ‡ Id.

gion

gion of a dissolute court, had acquired all the manly accomplishments of a soldier. Upon the death of Condé, he was called from his retreat to become the head of the protestant cause, and supported a weak and disheartened party by heroic exertion. Reconciled at length to the perfidious Catharine, and married to the most accomplished princess of the age, he found himself suddenly surrounded by his murdered friends, and even compelled to purchase a precarious safety by the sacrifice of his religious opinions. CHAP. XXXIV.

Having at length recovered his liberty, he asserted his own and his country's freedom with unshaken courage. In this difficult undertaking, in which he had scarcely less to apprehend from the unsteadiness of his associates than from the treachery of his foes, the affability of his temper appeared in the most amiable light. Patient and even cheerful, amidst the greatest hardships, he shared with the common soldier in every fatigue. He was clothed in the coarsest raiment, dined on the homeliest food, and slept upon a pallet of straw.

On

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On the point of being overwhelmed by superstition and 'the League', he saved himself by his valour at Coutras; but scarcely had victory declared in his favour, when humanity got the better of resentment. His behaviour toward the unfortunate king, likewise, is not less deserving of admiration. In the bitter moment of distress, he forgot that he had been the assassin of the Calvinists, and flew with fraternal ardour to his assistance.

At the period of his accession, the royal army was composed of catholics, as well as of protestants. By the latter, his title was at first acknowledged with all the eagerness of a triumphant sect; though they soon became apprehensive that a patriot king might be induced to sacrifice his private feelings to the tranquillity of his people. The opinions of the former were divided. Allured by the prospect of establishing an independent power, many of the great nobility forsook the royal standard, and retired to their governments with threats of defiance; while others restrained by their admiration of his virtues within the

the bounds of duty, insisted upon his conversion, as the indispensible condition of their allegiance*. CHAP. XXXIV.

Meanwhile, Paris remained a prey to the intrigues and fury of contending factions. For, in addition to these two catholic parties, a third, blindly devoted to the Spanish court, desired to place the French crown on the head of the infanta of Spain. This project, however, was secretly opposed by the duke of Mayenne, who upon his brother's death became the head of 'the League,' and already indulged the hope of encircling with it his own brow.

In this state of perplexity, Henry displayed all those great and amiable qualities, which he so eminently possessed. By his prudence he provided against every exigency: by his courtesy he conciliated friends; by his courage he over-awed opponents. Having assembled a council of general officers, immediately after the death of his predecessor, he laid before them his plans and his resources; declaring that it was his

* De Thou, and Sully.

primary

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primary object to secure the co-operation of the most ancient and faithful allies of France*. Sancy was accordingly despatched to the head-quarters of the Swiss, with proposals for their continuing in the service of the new king. His reception was at first highly discouraging, as the catholic officers refused to fight in defence of a religion, which they were taught to behold with abhorrence. Their prejudices however at length yielding to reason, they promised not to abandon the royal standard, till they received fresh instructions from home. The protestants, on the contrary, expressed the warmest zeal in his cause, and hastening to his tent, did homage to Henry as the legitimate sovereign of France†.

1584. The death of cardinal Baromeo deprived the pope of a zealous partizan; but the spirit of animosity, which he had excited in Switzerland, unfortunately survived it's author. Another legate was appointed by Sixtus V. who presided over

* May, V. 13. † Id. ib. De Thou, XCVII.

a diet

a diet at Lucerne, and was highly gratified to hear from the lips of the deputies, the solemn oath by which they bound themselves to sacrifice their lives and fortunes in defence of Rome*.

This impolitic declaration excited serious alarm among the protestants; and little was now wanting to kindle the flame of war, when a dispute arose in the town of Muhlhausen, which was productive of considerable tumult and bloodshed. A suit, which had been carried on with much acrimony between two families of note, respecting the possession of a farm, was at length decided by a municipal tribunal according to established law. Too proud to abide by the sentence, the defeated party appealed to the Helvetic government as to a superior tribunal, and judges were appointed by Berne and Zuric, by whom the sentence was confirmed. Eager to counteract a protestant decree, the catholic cantons, with indecent warmth, espoused the opposite cause; and finding themselves

* Planta, II. 170.

CHAP. XXXIV. 1586.

unable to pervert the course of justice, rashly determined without farther process to dissolve their alliance with Muhlhausen.

Resolved, at all events to substantiate their decision, the protestants instantly took the field, and having ineffectually summoned the town, prepared for a general assault. A sanguinary conflict ensued; but the assailants having at length got possession of the gates, the townsmen proposed to capitulate. Their wives and daughters interceded for them, and laying their infant children at the victors' feet, implored their mercy. A scene so affecting could not fail to operate on the hearts of husbands and fathers. With a generosity characteristic of the truly brave, they sheathed their swords, after having excepted a few of the most obnoxious from the general amnesty.*

In an age of brilliant exploits, an event so trivial scarcely deserves the historian's attention; but, were transactions of this kind suffered to pass unnoticed, the annals

* Mallet, III. 362.

of

of Switzerland would be completely barren. To the crimes and virtues of the French we must recur for materials to awaken indignation or excite applause. In the service of the self-opposing armies of France, the Helvetic soldiery to the number of twenty thousand reaped additional laurels.

It is not our intention to follow Henry through the arduous struggle in which he was engaged, but simply to commemorate some particular actions in which the troops of Helvetia had the glory to be engaged. When almost overwhelmed by superior numbers at the battle of Arques, he perceived a regiment of Swiss supporting the brunt of the action with invincible fortitude. Upon which, accosting the colonel with his characteristic frankness, "Comrade," said he, "I have witnessed the "gallant behaviour of your men, and am "come to share their glory, or to fall by "their side*.

The ensuing campaign both armies met in the plains of Ivry, where the duke

* May, V. 13.

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of Mayenne was again defeated, though at the head of forces more than triple the royal army. Henry exhorted his soldiers to rally round him. "Let these "white plumes," cried the gallant monarch pointing to his casque, "be your "guide, for you will always find them in "the road to glory."* No sooner had fortune decided in his favour, than he put a stop to slaughter, calling out to his troops, as they pursued the foe, to spare "his "subjects"†. Two regiments of Swiss still maintained their ground, and positively refused to surrender, unless the king would certify, under his hand that they had behaved like gallant soldiers. With his accustomed benignity he consented to a proposal, which gratified the two leading passions of his soul, compassion and generosity. He signed the declaration in the most honourable terms, restored their colours, and dismissed them with the most flattering expressions of esteem‡.

The protestant cantons contributed in

* Memoirs de Sully, III. 40 † Id. ib.
‡ May, IV. 70.

an

an eminent degree to the success of that memorable day. Sully informs us, that as his master, who never willingly omitted an opportunity of rewarding merit, was passing a regiment of Swiss, he said to the colonel "Comrade, remember to keep "a vacant halbert for me, for I foresee "there will be fresh glory to acquire to "day". Delighted with the bravery of Arregger, who commanded it, he presented him with the very arms which he wore in the battle, and which were subsequently preserved, with a kind of religious veneration, in the arsenal of Soleure amidst the proudest trophies of Helvetic valour*.

Encouraged by the distresses of France, the duke of Savoy openly prepared for the conquest of Geneva. In direct violation of a recent treaty, he not only prohibited the exportation of corn, but also imposed exorbitant duties upon every commodity, designed for the use of that city. A secret correspondence was like-

* May, V. 13.

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wise carried on, and a plan concerted with the disaffected part of it's inhabitants for betraying it into his hands. Henry no sooner learned their situation, than he sent Sancy with offers of men and money. A similar proposal was made to Berne, with a promise of sharing in the conquered territory, provided they would declare against Savoy; and as the wishes of that canton were in perfect unison with those of the king, hostilities immediately commenced*.

1589.

Having engaged the Berners in the war, Sancy next found means to seduce their troops, many of whom were persuaded to abandon the defence of their country for the more splendid theatre of France. Still the brave Genovese maintained the unequal contest with persevering courage, undaunted by the disparity of force. The indecision of the Berners by no means entitles them to similar praise. Peace however was at length obtained through the mediation of Henry, who caused Geneva

1590.

* Meister, I. 235.

to

to be included in the general truce, under the vague denomination of Allies of the Swiss*. CHAP XXXIV.

This loosely worded clause left room for the duke to renew his claims, flattering himself that the dread of papal indignation would prevent Henry from interfering in defence of so heterodox a city. It is asserted, also, that he offered him Saluzzo as a bribe. But he was mistaken in his anticipations. In a few weeks, Henry made himself master of Savoy. Gex was occupied by the Genevese, and promised to them as the reward of their valour; yet by the treaty of peace, it was ceded to France, in exchange for Saluzzo†. This ungenerous return may prove a useful lesson to little states, since Henry IV., with all his integrity could not resist the allurements of power.

Baffled in every attempt, the duke of Savoy was still determined not to relinquish his ambitious designs. He had so 1602.

* Mallet, III. 367. † Id. 368.

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far profited however by former errors, as to regulate his plans with greater prudence. Having drawn together a few battalions in the vicinity of Geneva, under pretence of watching the French, he resolved to surprise the town in the midst of peace. The scaling ladders were silently applied to the walls, two hundred soldiers had ascended the ramparts, and the signal was expected with impatience.

At this awful moment, a centinel alarmed by an unusual noise, discharged his musket to awaken his comrades. The report led the Piedmontese commander to suspect a discovery, and he in consequence resolved to hasten the execution of the enterprise. Orders were immediately issued for storming the gates, and a brisk cannonade commenced. Starting from their beds, the affrighted citizens ran instinctively to the walls. The assailants were repulsed, and the greater part of those who had entered the town, put to the sword. A few only were taken alive, who were instantly hanged in sight of the camp.

camp. This fortunate event was ever afterward, as long as Geneva preserved her freedom, commemorated as a day of national festivity*.

Mortified at the disgraceful failure of his project, the duke prepared to assert his pretensions by force. But finding that he could not unsheath the sword, without incurring the resentment of the protestant cantons, he consented at length to a peace, by which the independence of Geneva was virtually recognised, though out of delicacy to his humiliated feelings, no positive clause was inserted to that effect†.

From this period, to the treaty of Westphalia, the annals of Switzerland furnish little to occupy the most inquisitive reader. Convulsed by intestine broils, for which religion afforded an unfailing pretext, Helvetia seemed to have closed for ever her career of glory. Happy was the issue, when the disputes were decided without the mediation of the sword! Such was the lot of Appenzel. From men, whose turbulent characters were still farther inflamed

* Spon. I. 421. † Mallet, ib. 371.

by

CHAP. XXXIV.

by religious enthusiasm, the most outrageous excesses might justly have been feared. Yet at the moment when the horizon appeared the blackest, the storm was suddenly dispersed. The remedy adopted clearly shows that there is no difference of opinion too great for reason to reconcile, when men are disposed to discuss their grievances with candour and moderation.

A rapid torrent flows through the cantons of Appenzel, and as the protestants and catholics were nearly equal in numbers, it was agreed that they should separate themselves into their respective sects, and reside on the different sides of the stream. This partition of territory was productive of the happiest results, as the natives have ever since continued to live in harmony and brotherly affection*.

In the Valteline, however, the flame of discord was not so easily extinguished. To the intemperance of religion, political interests gave additional acrimony. The catholics were blindly devoted to the

* Mallet, III, 371.

Spanish

Spanish court, while the protestants were attached with equal ardour to that of France. Of the former, the Planta family was the acknowledged head; of the latter, the house of Salis. It might have been supposed, that the inhabitants of a country so entirely insulated by it's stupendous barriers from the rest of Europe, might have been allowed to cultivate their barren mountains in peaceful industry. But unfortunately the Valteline, as a military station, became an object of contention to those mighty powers, whose animosities were destined to trouble the repose of the civilized world. It's narrow defiles afforded the shortest communication between Germany and Italy; nor could the Helvetic troops find by any other avenue so ready an access to the Venetian territory.

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A minute description of the sanguinary scenes, to which the intrigues of the rival courts and the efforts of the rival families, their respective partisans, gave birth, may be found in the national annals.

The romantic valley of the Valteline extends from the southern base of the Rhætian

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tian mountains to the delicious plains of Lombardy, enjoying all the softness and exuberance of an Italian climate. This lovely abode of innocence and peace, the ambition of France and Austria, the intrigues of Rome, and the fanaticism of contending sects, transformed into a theatre of blood. Aware that the majority were blindly attached to the papal creed, the Spanish court concerted a plot for overturning the government, which was entirely vested in the hands of the protestants, and dissolving the alliance with the Grison league. The spirit of disaffection, which was gradually spreading among the lower classes, was artfully encouraged by their emissaries; and aliment was supplied by the weakness, or the temerity, of the magistrates, to the kindling flame. Not satisfied with allowing the free exercise of their worship to the members of the reformed church, they even ventured to establish protestant schools and chapels in those districts, where the spirit of fanaticism raged with the greatest violence. By an illiterate populace such acts were regarded

garded as not less injurious to heaven, than offensive to their own feelings. But their rage was no longer to be controlled when they beheld an ecclesiastic executed under the sentence of a civil tribunal. Surrounded by every symbol, that could inculcate mercy, they went forth with fire and sword, professing to exterminate their enemies "in the name of the Lord". Who ever was suspected of a predilection for the doctrines of Calvin, was massacred, without distinction of age or sex. At Triano sixty persons were murdered with deliberate cruelty. At Teglio, an infatuated mob burst into the church during the celebration of divine worship, and after assassinating the minister and the greater part of the congregation, levelled the building with the ground. The peasant possessed himself of the farm which he rented, by stabbing his landlord as a heretic. The debtor delivered himself from an importunate creditor by the same compendious process. The greedy heir by the aid of his dagger accelerated the devolution of the long expected estate. No asylum remained

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mained to the proscribed. To mountains, rocks, and forests, they were pursued like beasts of prey. Yet though the persecution continued for many days, the surrounding states looked on with the most torpid apathy. Neither the governor of Milan, nor the court of Vienna, nor the French, the avowed protectors of the Grison League, nor the Swiss (who ought to have learned compassion from their own misfortunes) exerted themselves in the cause of humanity. At length, however, at the intercession of the Venetians, the king of France consented to undertake the office of mediator, and a treaty was in consequence concluded at Madrid, by which the sovereignty of the Valteline was expressly guaranteed to the Grison League*. But this article was never fairly executed. Availing themselves of the unsettled state of the country, the Austrians took possession of Coire, while the Spaniards occupied Chiavenna.

In vain the Helvetic confederacy remon-

* Consult the negociations of Bassompierre, as published by Malleville.

started

strated on the injustice of these proceed- CHAP. XXXIV.
ings, insisting that the ancient government should be re-established in the full enjoyment of all it's legal rights. Had the demand been supported by an adequate force, it might have produced the desired effect; but the peaceful demeanor of all the cantons encouraged the duke of Feria* to assume a tone little calculated to inspire confidence. Nor could he be soothed into a more conciliatory conduct, till the Grisons consented to execute a treaty, by 1622. which they virtually resigned the sovereignty of the Valteline. In consequence of this disgraceful convention, the protestant religion was no longer tolerated; the Spanish troops were allowed a free passage through the Valteline; and the vale of Munster was ceded to Austria, together with a limited occupation of the principal fortresses†. The Valteline was in fact become a province of Austria, and had

* At that time governor of Milan. Bougeant Traitè de Westphalie, I. 106.

† The massacre of the Valteline is minutely described by Mr. Cox, Letter 74.

her

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her authority been exercised with a lenient hand, might have continued her's for ever. But oppression, accompanied with insult, can be tolerated only by the most abject of slaves.

With unanimous resentment the harassed natives resolved to burst their shackles, or to perish gloriously in the attempt. Assembling by night in unfrequented spots, they bound themselves together by a solemn engagement to be free. Such an oath is seldom ineffectual.

Rudolph de Salis, a man endowed by nature with that daring genius which ensures pre-eminence in civil commotions, was with one voice placed at their head. The people rose at his signal, defeated the Austrians in various encounters, and compelled them at length to retire*.

Under these circumstances, cardinal Richelieu, who had restored splendor and solidity to the throne of France, thought
1624. fit to interpose. Coeuvres was accordingly sent into Switzerland†, with the title of am-

* Mallet, III. 380. † Bougeant, id. 108.

bassador,

bassador, and by his address persuaded the catholic cantons to guarantee the treaty of Madrid, although it secured the sovereignty of the Valteline to the Rhætian league. The Austrians and Spaniards were now compelled to evacuate the country; and the forts, which they had erected, were dismantled; but the protestant religion was still proscribed. The conduct of Richelieu, upon this occasion, as evincing a blind predilection for the catholic worship, was by no means consistent with his political reputation. Nor was it long before he found ample cause to regret his imprudence, as the Grison League refused a passage to the French troops, which were destined to support the duke of Nevers in his claims to the duchy of Mantua. The Austrians, however, were less delicate: after forcing the famous defile of Luciensteig, they occupied all the country between that and the lake of Como*. But at the moment, when the liberties of Rhætia seemed lost for ever, a hero arose in the

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* Id. ib. 382. Meister, I. 336.

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north of Europe to vindicate the cause of protestantism. Gustavus Adolphus was rapidly marching from triumph to triumph, and spreading consternation to the gates of Vienna. Nothing therefore remained for the emperor Ferdinand II. but to patch up a hasty peace with France*, by which the Grisons were delivered from the terrors of Austrian persecution.

1630.

The French interest seemed now to acquire a preponderating influence with the Rhætian League. This delusion, however, was not of long duration, as the protection afforded by France was precisely what might be expected from an ambitious and selfish people. Under the fallacious mask of amity, they imposed a yoke more grievous than that, which with ostentatious philanthopy they affected to break; and with the benevolence of his unfeeling master constantly upon his tongue, the duke of Rohan usurped an almost absolute authority. Upon this the Rhætians, in disgust, appealed to Austria for support; and by her

* Signed at Ratisbon in 1630. Meister, I. 341.

mediation

mediation tranquillity was restored*. A general amnesty was now proclaimed in the Valteline, and even Planta himself, the author and leader of every dissension, received permission to return to his patrimonial estate, where he ended a turbulent life amidst the peaceful occupations of domestic retirement†.

The thirty years' war was at this time drawing toward it's conclusion, the traces of which, originating in the intolerant bigotry of Ferdinand II. are still discernable in the desolated plains of Germany. The rights of the Germanic body had been attacked in their most vital part, and the remonstrances of successive diets were treated with negligence or insult. The ruin of the protestants appeared inevitable, when Gustavus flew to their succour, and by the vigour of his arm gave a blow to Austria, from which she has never subsequently recovered.

While the continent of Europe was convulsed from the Baltic to the Alps, Swit-

* Mallet, ib. 383. † Id. ib.

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zerland alone found shelter from the violence of the storm. Alternately menaced by the French, the Austrians, and the Swedes, by unremitting vigilance she preserved her territory from violation. Nor could this be accomplished without exposing the government to constant complaints. If the imperial army approached the frontier, the Calvinists, persuaded that they moved in concert with the catholic cantons, were devising measures for their destruction; while the latter beheld the progress of the Swedes with at least equal jealousy, convinced that the overthrow of orthodox christianity was the necessary consequence of their success. Hence the catholic states omitted no opportunity of cementing their alliance with the courts of Spain and Austria; their opponents, on the other hand, with equal zeal endeavouring to secure the protection of France. A complete rupture was prevented only by the prudence of Wrangel, who, in consequence of a remonstrance from the Helvetic diet, faithfully promised that the Swedish army

army should respect the neutrality of Switzerland*. CHAP. XXXIV

Exhausted by the magnitude of their efforts, the belligerent powers were compelled at length to sheath the sword; and after seven years consumed in fruitless negociations, concluded a treaty at Munster. This pacification, celebrated in diplomatic history under the name of 'the Peace of Westphalia,' has served as a basis for all 1648. subsequent negociations, till the rights of nations were no longer respected. The privileges of the Germanic body were then clearly ascertained, and limits prescribed to the imperial authority, which stripped it of it's most formidable prerogatives, and established the emperor as the constitutional chief of a confederated republic of princes and of states†.

This forms a memorable epocha in the annals of Switzerland. Hitherto her independence had never been formally established. Till the reign of Maximilian II. she had constantly applied to every em-

* Mallet, III. 390.

† Barre. Hist. d' Allemagne, IX. 829.

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peror, upon his accession to the throne, for a confirmation of their immunities; and the imperial chamber, even in subsequent periods, continued to assert the antiquated claims of imposing taxes on her natives, and citing them to appear before their august tribunal. But these pretensions, though treated with dignified contempt, were regarded as insulting to Helvetic freedom; and it was, accordingly, determined to assert their independence at the Westphalian congress. Wettstein of Bâle, a profound civilian, was selected by his countrymen for this important mission, and by his zeal and ability fully justified the choice. Unawed by the wealth and arrogance of the imperial legation, he resolutely declared that the Helvetic people were unalterably fixed never more to acknowledge, in their internal government, any authority as paramount to their own. This claim was strenuously resisted by the Austrian ambassadors; but their opposition was ineffectual, as the Swiss were supported by Sweden and France. By an express article in the treaty, the Helvetic confederacy

confederacy was formally acknowledged an independent state*. CHAP. XXXIV.

This blessing, however, could not be obtained without considerable sacrifices. The necessity of maintaining an army for the protection of the frontier compelled the government to have recourse to extraordi-

* *Cum item Cæs. Maj. ad querelas nomine civitatis Basileensis et Universæ Helveticæ, coram ipsius plenipotentiariis ad præsentes congressus deputatis prepositas, super non nullis processibus et mandatis executivis à camerâ imperiali contra dictam civitatem, aliosque Helvetiorum Unitos Cantones, eorumque cives et subditos emanatis, requisitâ Ordinum Imperii sententiâ et consilio singulari decreto die decimo quarto mensis Maji anno proximè præterito declaraverit, predictam civitatem Basilean, cæterosque Helvetiorum Cantones in possessione vel quasi plenæ libertatis ac exemptionis ab imperio esse, ac nullatenus ejusdem imperii dicasteriis et judiciis esse subjectos; placuit hoc idem publicæ huic pacificationis conventioni inserere, ratumque et firmum manere, atque idcirco ejusmodi processûs, unà cum Arrestis eorum occasione, quandocunque decretis, prorsus cassos et irritos esse debere.*—Dumont, Corps Diplom. VI. 454.

I presume a sort of compromise must have been made with the pusillanimous magnanimity of the house of Austria, by the insertion of the word *quasi;* a miserable expedient, by which expiring despotism attempted to retain a *quasi imperium* over expanding freedom.

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nary imposts, which were borne by the people with tolerable patience, so long as the danger was imminent. But on the brightening of the prospect, a spirit of disaffection began rapidly to spread throughout the cantons of Berne and Lucerne, which gradually assumed the tremendous appearance of civil war.

1653. The first daring measure of the insurgents was, to lay siege to Berne. The attack was so unexpected, that the senate was forced by concessions and promises to appease the storm. But scarcely had the leaders of the rebel bands consented to accept the proffered terms, than they grew angry with themselves for their moderation.

A serious inconvenience had arisen from the progressive debasement of the German coin, during the late disastrous war. Distress, or avarice, had tempted many of the German princes to raise the old currency to more than double it's intrinsic value, and proportionably to adulterate the new. A similar system had been pursued in Switzerland from necessity. At the return

of

of peace, certain measures were adopted by the Helvetic government for restoring money to it's proper standard. These regulations, however, though unquestionably dictated by the wisest policy, were far too complex to satisfy the understandings of men, whose knowledge of calculation was circumscribed to the simplest rules of arithmetic; and who could not, or would not, comprehend the reason, why the same coin should exchange to-day for twice as much as it would produce to-morrow. Motives, scarcely less imperious, induced the senate of Berne to introduce various regulations in the commercial system, which with little detriment to the public, tended considerably to augment the national revenue. To appreciate the merit of these establishments, exceeded the compass of unenlightened minds. But the meanest capacity was able to discover, that they were unauthorised by former precedents, and in that light, to regard them as infringements of their natural rights.

The vale of Entlebuch was inhabited by men, whose restless tempers and undaunted courage,

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courage, disdained control. Accustomed to brave the authority of the laws, they resolved to assert their independence by arms, and accordingly despatched a deputation of the most factious demagogues, to explain their demands to the senate. The affrighted magistrates instantly appointed a committee to examine their allegations, and if substantiated to propose a remedy.

Perceiving that the government was not to be intimidated, the insurgents appealed to the ambassador of France. But applications of this kind are too repugnant to the general interests of civilised society, to be countenanced by any people whose actions are regulated by a sense of justice, or a regard for national character. Convinced by repeated refusals, that it was in vain to look for foreign aid, they at length condescended to sue for pardon, submitting their case to the candour and generosity of the very functionaries, whose tardy justice they had previously affected to despise*.

* Meister, I. 475.

The

The concession of many of their demands induced the malecontents to mistake humanity for apprehension. Secret emissaries were accordingly dispersed to organize a fresh revolt. The summons was obeyed with alacrity; and Leuenberg, a peasant of Berne, whom they had chosen for their leader, addressed a manifesto to the Helvetic nation, announcing the claims of his followers, in a tone of moderation admirably calculated to conceal his real designs. With this pacific declaration, however, his actions did not long correspond. Whoever refused to join his standard, was treated as an enemy to the public good. Though it was generally believed that the main object of the insurgents was to surprise the capital, and thus constrain the government to unqualified submission, the senate disdaining to compromise their authority, with an air of dignified composure forbade the gates of Berne to be shut at the approach of the rebel army.

This well-timed confidence proved not less efficacious than the most vigorous resistance

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sistance could have done. The rebels offered to negociate. The magistrates consenting, the first conference was conducted in a tone of moderation, which promised a favourable issue. But the pretensions of the insurgents gradually swelling with their numbers, the senate persuaded that no salutary consequences could arise from protracting the negociation, reluctantly prepared to assert it's authority by the sword.

D'Erlach being invested with the supreme command, determined to attack the rebels in the strong posts of Gummingen and Windish, whence they threatened Berne and Zuric. Till now the latter government had beheld the danger with apparent indifference. The approaching storm, however, at length awakened their fears, and determined them to prepare for war. But the plans of the malecontents were conducted with so much rashness, that they failed in all their successive attempts upon Arau, Bruck, and Zofingen; places, of which the possession was essential

tial to the maintaining of a communication between the different rebel districts*.

At the approach of D'Erlach, they evacuated Arberg, while another body was repulsed near Lucerne. Leuenberg, however, still maintained his position in the vicinity of Berne, spreading terror and desolation around. The difficulty of compelling him to risk a battle gave rise to another negociation, which no sooner fell to the ground than the rebel chief renewed his depredations with increasing fury.

The army of Zuric being now in a situation to act offensively, advanced against the insurgents encamped at Mellingen. Deceived by their audacious and profligate leaders, who told them in the current cant of the times, that they were fighting in the cause of heaven, they believed themselves entitled to miraculous protection. In this enthusiastic confidence, however, the leaders themselves did not participate; for at the approach of the enemy, they fled to Lernberg without firing a shot. In a second encounter,

* Mallet, III. 404.

they

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they behaved with equal cowardice. Convinced by repeated trials that his cause was desperate, Leuenberg now offered to surrender, on receiving a promise of pardon. But the government with proper severity replied, that he had forfeited every claim to mercy, and must abide the decision of arms.

Upon the advance of D'Erlach, the rebels fell back to Herzogenbuch, a village near Soleure; disputing, however, every inch of ground with the most obstinate valour, every house, converted into a fortress, afforded a temporary shelter; till driven at length to the last extremity, they rushed forward with frantic fury, and hewing themselves a passage through the enemy's ranks, escaped to the adjacent woods. There, numbers perished by famine, or the sword.

After eluding his pursuers for several days, Leuenberg was at last delivered up by a treacherous friend, and carried in chains to Berne. When interrogated by his judges respecting the nature of his plans, and the extent and character of his accomplices,

accomplices, he seemed determined to pre- CHAP. XXXIV.
serve a sullen silence; but torture having at length wrung from him a full confession, he was beheaded with every mark of ignominy which offended justice could devise.*

* Meister, I. 489.—Mallet, III. 405.

CHAP.

CHAPTER XXXV.

Remarks on the Helvetic Government, it's Military Establishment, and the fatal Errors which led to it's Dissolution.

CHAP. XXXV.

HAVING now conducted the Helvetic people to the attainment of uncontested independence, we may be expected to furnish some farther information respecting the manners and government, which prevailed in Switzerland, till that tremendous era of violence and injustice, when freedom was banished from the continent of Europe. This will enable the reader to judge, whether the intervening period was judiciously employed; and whether the measures, adopted by the federative republics, were founded on wise and solid principles, calculated to promote the happiness of the subject, while they ensured the safety of the state.

This

This subject has been considered by writers of unquestionable merit, under very different points of view; but recent events having disclosed the internal weakness of the Helvetic government, we shall endeavour to show that, notwithstanding a delusive semblance of vigour, the foundations of the republic were gradually undermined, till they became an easy victory to the overwhelming storm.

From the treaty of Westphalia, when the pride of Austria was compelled to acknowledge her independence, to the present hour, the annals of Helvetia afford but little to awaken attention, or interest curiosity. Ages of peace glide rapidly away; and a single campaign is frequently productive of more abundant materials for the pen of the historian, than a century spent in the uninterrupted enjoyment of domestic repose. That the Helvetic constitution was radically defective in some essential points, which rendered the country incapable of vigorously opposing an invading foe, it's fondest admirers are forced to admit; yet it's greatest enemies

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are unable to deny, that in spite of it's imperfections, it was better calculated than most existing governments, to promote the happiness of it's subjects.

In no part of Europe was the condition of the peasant so prosperous as in the canton of Berne. It was impossible to pass the confines of France without being forcibly struck with the change, which a few furlongs had produced in the manners, the appearance, and the feelings of the inhabitants. The delighted traveller was tempted to believe his imagination beguiled by the illusions of a theatre, when the African desert is rapidly succeeded by the beauties of Arcadia. A moment before, he beheld an emaciated spectre goading on a miserable team, to perform the portion of daily labour indispensable to satisfy the cravings of nature. He now heard the cheerful peasant singing as he tripped to his vineyard, for the recompence of his labour was secure. No arbitrary impost fettered his exertion. No insolent collector could rob him of it's fruits.

In

In a country, where personal property and personal freedom are secured by just and equal laws, population will naturally flourish. Every valley in Switzerland was accordingly crowded with neat and commodious habitations. It is true, that the comforts of life were scarcely ever sacrificed at the shrine of ostentation. Nor did families starve throughout the winter, that they might figure more conspicuously in the region of folly once or twice in the ensuing spring. The affluent proprietors of those unassuming mansions had in general the good sense to despise gratifications, which arise only from the envy of others*.

Delighted at a scene so congenial with the feelings of philanthrophy, if we directed our attention to the municipal in-

* The truth of this remark was perhaps daily becoming less apparent; but, although it is impossible to deny that a taste for luxury was rapidly spreading before the revolution, it is equally fair to acknowledge that this accusation applied exclusively to the higher orders. The manufacturer, and the mechanic, still continued to live within the strictest rules of economy.

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stitutions, we found equal cause to approve. Public granaries* were erected in all the principal towns for the reception of corn, which was purchased by the state in plentiful seasons. The direction of these establishments was entrusted to a committee, by whom it was conducted on the most liberal principles. Thus all speculative combinations were prevented; nor was it possible for the unfeeling monopolist to derive a disgraceful fortune from the wants and sufferings of his fellow-creatures. When the price of grain exceeded a certain standard, the magazines were opened. If on the contrary, the markets were overstocked, the agents of government received instructions to buy. This prudential system obviated all the inconveniencies arising from the opposite extremes of scarcity, or superabundance; and while the citizen was delivered from the apprehensions of famine, the cultivator

* How far an institution of this kind might be rendered beneficial in a great and populous nation, it is not our present business to inquire.

was

was assured that his labours would never fail of their adequate reward.

Public institutions of every description were managed with equal liberality. In no country were the hospitals regulated with greater regard to the convenience of the sick, or on a more rational plan of economy. It is a severe satire upon human vanity, to observe how frequently, in foundations designed for charitable purposes, pride has gotten the better of benevolence. But the Helvetic government never ceased to remember, that they were entrusted with the direction of affairs, not for the emolument of private families, but for the general interests of society.

In the canton of Berne (and indeed in all the aristocratical cantons) the police was excellent. Nor was the mode adopted for the punishment of criminals less worthy of attention.

Instead of being condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and thus rendered useless burthens to the state, culprits were employed in works of public utility. Chained together, and clothed in uni-

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forms made of the cheapest materials, which served at once for badges of infamy, and prevented them from appearing in a state of disgusting poverty.

It has afforded much matter for dispute among those, by whom the interests of humanity are most dearly cherished, whether this species of chastisement is calculated for the meridian of a free state. But might it not be asked, with almost equal propriety, if punishments of any sort are compatible with our ideas of theoretical freedom? The question presents itself under two points of view: first, as it concerns the criminal himself; and secondly, as it applies to the community. When the situation of the offender is impartially considered, it is difficult to deny, that both in a moral and a physical light, it is more consistent with humanity to indulge him in the enjoyment of air and exercise, than to confine him within the loathsome walls of a dungeon, where his mind and body are alike polluted. Let the visionary, who zealously maintains a contrary opinion, condescend

condescend to visit an English prison, before he ventures presumptuously to decide. CHAP. XXXV.

In every well-regulated government, punishments are intended as warnings, to control the abandoned in their profligate career. Now a spectacle like that which was exhibited at Berne, by constantly recalling the inevitable consequences of a disorderly life, seems far better suited to work upon the feelings of the generality of men, than all the accumulated horrors of the most sanguinary execution, which (like the fictitious sufferings of the drama) produce only a momentary sensation, and are speedily forgotten. It is an abuse of reason to pretend, that it is more conformable with our ideas of rational freedom to suffer the delinquent to expire the victim of disease contracted from the effluvia of a noisome cell, than to behold him in perfect vigour endeavouring to expiate his past offences by active service*.

So

* Προσηκει δε παντι τω εν τιμωρια ονλι, υπ' αλλε ορθως τιμωρεμενε, η βελτιονι γιγνεσθαι και ονινασθαι, η παραδειγμα τι τοις αλλοις γιγνεσθαι, ινα αλλοι ορωνλες πασχονλα ἁ αν πασχοι, φοβεμενοι, βελτιες

 γιγνωνλαι.

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So much has been said by former writers*, concerning the nature of the Helvetic government, that little remains to be added. A striking similarity existed between the constitutions of the aristocratic and democratic cantons; so that the selection of two as objects of investigation (of Berne to exemplify the former, and Schweitz the latter class) may convey an adequate idea of the rest.

In the canton of Berne, every subject, without distinction of rank or fortune, enjoyed the privilege of bearing arms. No standing army was maintained to favour patrician insolence and oppression. Justice was openly and impartially administered, and the lives and property of

γιγνωνται. Εισι δε οι μεν ωφελημενοι τε και δικην διδοντες υπο θεων τε και ανθρωπων, ὁτοι, οι αν ιασιμα ἁμαρτηματα ἁμαρτοσιν· ὁμως δε δι' αλγηδονων και οδυνων γιγνεται αυτοις ἡ ωφελεια και ἐνθαδε και εν ἁδῃ· ου γαρ οιονλε αλλως αδικιας απαλλαλεσθαι· οι δ' αν τα ἐσχατα αδικησωσι, και δια τοιαυτα αδικηματα ανιατοι γενωνται, εκ τουτων τα παραδειγματα γιγνεται.---Platon. Gorg. 357. C. E. Edit. Franc. 1602.

* See Stanyan, Coxe, Planta, Haller, and Meiner's *Briefe Uber die Schweitz*, a work which cannot be sufficiently praised.

every

every order of citizens were secured by equal laws. The public revenues not lavished in purchasing an unconstitutional support to a corrupt administration, were reserved for works of public utility. Offices, which required the exertion of talents, were conferred by vote; while those, which were merely lucrative, were left to the disposal of chance. Finally, it was not exclusively the prerogative of noble birth, but the more honourable distinction of wisdom and virtue, to be called to those employments, which gave dignity and consequence to their possessors*.

In the preceding pages, we have traced the rise and progress of the republic of Berne, from it's foundation by Bertold of Zaringen, to it's attainment of independence in 1218, when it's franchises were confirmed by the emperor Frederic II. We shall therefore content ourselves with remarking, that while in most other countries the establishment of a free con-

* See Meiner, I. 229.

stitution

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stitution was effected by the efforts of an outraged people, Berne and Zuric gradually advanced under the guidance of time and experience to the summit of practical liberty.

According to most of the ancient annalists, the constitution of Berne, originally democratical, progressively assumed the character of aristocracy, a form perhaps the best of any, when by the occasional admission of plebeian families, it allows scope to the exertion of talents on the one hand, and guards against the danger of an oligarchy (the worst of all governments, as being inaccessible to the restraint of public opinion) on the other. It is surely more consistent with common sense, that men of fortune and education should preside at the helm of public affairs, than that it should be left to the direction of an illiterate mob. Some modern writers have endeavoured to show, that from the earliest periods of the republic the privileged orders were constantly entitled to the same prerogatives. Various proofs have

have been adduced in support of this assertion. and ancient records were either found, or fabricated, which sanctioned these patrician claims. Their opponents however contended, that in moments of extreme peril, during the infancy of the republic, it was natural for the people to entrust their safety in the hands of those whom wisdom and experience entitled to consideration, and whom fortune had placed beyond the reach of corruption; but that this confidence was not necessarily extended beyond the exigency, much less did it generate an hereditary authority. How far the pretensions of either party could be supported by historical facts, it is difficult now to decide; as the archives of the republic perished, for the greater part, when the city was destroyed by fire.

The inhabitants of the canton of Berne were divided into two distinct classes, citizens and subjects. The former were again subdivided into senatorial, and non-senatorial families. Although every citizen had virtually a right to exercise all the different offices of government, as excluded by no positive

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positive law; yet the privileges of the magistracy were in fact confined to about seventy families*, and even among those an essential difference prevailed. A small number of the most ancient and opulent houses had availed themselves of circumstances to establish an interest in the government, which rendered them arbiters of all political transactions. None of these had less than one member in the senate, while some of them had not fewer than twelve in the great council. In the former body, persons of inferior connexions were seldom honoured with a seat, but were obliged to content themselves with two or three votes in the latter.

In the council of two hundred (as it was commonly called) was wholly vested the sovereign authority. When complete, it comprehended two hundred and ninety-nine. This however was seldom the case, as the vacancies (to the average amount of eighty) were filled up

* In the time of Haller, they amounted to eighty. From this it appears that the government of Berne was tending rapidly toward an oligarchy.

only

only once in ten years. They met three times a week, except during the vintage, when unless urgent business intervened, one session was omitted. With this body resided the right of promulgating new laws, and of amending old ones; of declaring war, and making peace; with all their contingencies of negociations and treaties. To them also it belonged to superintend the public expenditure, and to distribute all pensions and gratuities, which exceeded the amount of one hundred crowns.

As a seat in this assembly was an object of general research, every precaution was employed to render the election as fair as possible, without depriving the ancient families of those advantages, which long possession had rendered sacred. Certain magistrates, in virtue of their official situations, enjoyed the privilege of nominating a prescribed number, and the remainder were chosen by ballot. But as some previous study was wisely deemed a necessary qualification for the important duties of a legislator, no person was eligible under the age of thirty.

The

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The senate, or little council, composed of twenty-seven members, was invested with the executive authority, and with the exception of Sundays, assembled daily. When a vacancy happened, it was immediately filled up. The qualifications requisite were to have previously sat in the other council for ten years, and to have been married.

Among the prerogatives of the senate, the following were the most important. The cognisance of business of every description, civil and ecclesiastical, which did not expressly belong to the Great Council, to which no question could be submitted, till it had been previously discussed by the senators. The diplomatic agents, as well as the supreme officers of the state, were appointed by them. They were likewise in the possession of an extensive patronage, restricted however to the disposal of subordinate places, and the distribution of trifling pensions: And, lastly, they constituted a part of the Great Council. The members of the latter had no pecuniary remuneration; those of the former,

on

on the contrary, were entitled to a small salary, not exceeding fifty pounds. CHAP. XXXV.

The chief magistrates of the republic were the two Avoyers, who continued in office for life, and presided alternately during the space of a year; decorated while in active service with various marks of supremacy. In the Council he occupied a chair of state, and before him was placed the seal of the republic; but, like the Speaker of the English House of Commons, he was never allowed to vote, except upon questions where the numbers were equal.

Next in dignity to the Avoyers, were the two Treasurers, who remained in power for six years. The four Bannerets were renewed every fourth year, and with the guardians of the public treasure formed a select committee for the inspection of public accounts.

A secret committee was also composed of the senior treasurer, the bannerets, and two other senators, over whom the ex-avoyer presided, for the cognisance of all matters requiring secresy and dispatch.

But the post which was sought with the greatest

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greatest avidity, was that of Bailiff. The canton was divided into a certain number of districts, each subject to the jurisdiction of it's respective bailiff, who exercised all the functions of government, and enjoyed many important and lucrative privileges.

Various instances have been adduced by ancient writers of abuses practised by these magistrates, whose authority continued during six years. But whatever may have formerly been the case, no charge of malversation has ever been substantiated in later times. Under the temptation however of it's numerous advantages, cabals were formed by the different candidates, and supported with all the violence of contending factions. Hence the government was induced in 1710, to alter the mode of election from the corruptible principle of a vote to a casual determination by lot.

A servile deference to the powerful families, by whose patronage the right of oppression had been hitherto conferred, no longer degraded the republican character. From this happy period we may fairly date the prosperity of the Bernese peasantry, and

their

their unshaken attachment to a govern- CHAP. XXXV.
ment, which secured to them the enjoyment of almost every human blessing.

It was no longer possible for a bailiff to commit the most trifling act of violence, and to escape with impunity. The meanest peasant had the right of appealing to an impartial senate, and, if his complaint were well founded, the certainty of obtaining complete redress. Thus a salutary restraint was imposed, which so far tempered the use of power, that it was rarely exercised with improper severity.

In no country in Europe, were the finances administered with greater economy. While other nations groaned under the weight of an enormous debt, the republic of Berne had imposed no additional taxes for nearly two hundred years. The ancient revenues not only served to cover the annual expenditure, but actually formed an accumulating fund, to provide against any sudden emergency. What a phenomenon in politics!

An accurate account of all the receipts and payments, with official documents and

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vouchers, was annually submitted to public inspection. Thus was the flourishing condition of the finances, instead of being founded on the precarious basis of expectations and retrenchments, rendered palpable to the meanest capacity.

It now remains to inquire whence this ample revenue arose; and the investigation will inspire the profoundest veneration for a government, which was able to accomplish such important objects by the simple means of frugality.

At the establishment of the reformed religion, all the ecclesiastical property was wisely applied to the general benefit. From the produce of those estates a fund was provided for the maintenance of the protestant clergy, and for the salaries of the bailiffs. The surplus was deposited in the national coffers. The tithes were appropriated to the same uses, being annually sold to the highest bidder, who was usually the proprietor of the land where they were to be collected.

There is something so unpopular in the idea of a monopoly, that it requires some

courage

courage to commend the policy of placing the commerce of salt entirely in the hands of the government. Yet never was an establishment of a similar kind conducted with so little inconvenience to the consumer, or attended with greater advantage to the public. As a proof of this, it may be stated, that notwithstanding it's productiveness, no contraband trade was ever carried on, to the detriment of the morals and the finances of the commonwealth. CHAP. XXXV.

In addition to these sources of revenue, a trifling duty was imposed upon foreign merchandise, and by this simple aggregate (scarcely credible to those who know and *feel* the extent of British expenditure) ample provision was made for the public service.

The money arising from the sinking fund, being vested in foreign securities, the interest accumulated for many years. But latterly it was expended in repairing and beautifying the public buildings, in cutting canals, draining morasses, or in making new and magnificent roads.

Among a people, whose liberties reposed

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upon the solid basis of reason, it might naturally have been expected that every man would have enjoyed the privilege of publishing his opinion without restraint. Yet there were few monarchies in Europe, where it was less safe to write or speak on political topics. No books were allowed to be printed, till they had been submitted to the inspection of certain magistrates appointed to superintend the press. "This "law," says professor Meiners, "was en- "forced with so much rigour, that it seem- "ed better calculated to become an in- "strument of oppression in the hands of "an Asiatic despot, than to be employed "as a salutary precaution by the magis- "trates of a free state*."

No

* Briefe Uber die Schweitz, 378. If it were possible to bestow more than adequate panegyric upon that organ, by which the people think aloud, a free press, we might look for it in the Preface and Dedication of the incomparable Letters of Junius, and in Mackintosh's magnificent Defence of Peltier.

"The liberty of the press," we are told by the first, "is the palladium of all civil, political, and religious rights."—"While this censorial power is maintained, to

speak

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No citizen or subject dared to affix his name to any publication, though printed in a foreign country, till it had been approved of by the public censor. Nor did any journalists in Switzerland presume to meddle in the affairs of the Helvetic government, or even to examine any great political question with the spirit of impar-

speak in the words of a most ingenious foreigner, both minister and magistrate is compelled, in almost every instance, to *choose between his duty and his reputation*," and he subjoins to his Preface an assertion from De Lolme, with high commendation of that writer's 'Essay on the English Constitution'; "if it were possible for the liberty of the press to exist in a despotic government, and (what is not less difficult) for it to exist without changing the Constitution, this liberty of the press would alone form a counterpoise to the power of the prince. If, for example, in an empire of the East a sanctuary could be found, which rendered respectable by the ancient religion of the people, might ensure safety to those who should bring thither their observations of any kind; and that thence printed papers should issue, which under a certain seal should be equally respected; and which, in their daily appearance, should examine and freely discuss the conduct of the Cadis, the Bashaws, the Vizier, the Divan, and the Sultan himself—that would introduce immediately some degree of liberty."

For Sir James Mackintosh's splendid declaration, see Peltier's Trial, p. 84—88.

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tial inquiry. So great indeed were their apprehensions, that at a time when all the other continental papers were filled with accounts of the troubles which prevailed at Geneva, no notice was taken of them in the national gazettes. "Though I was at Berne at the very moment," says the ingenious author to whom I am indebted for many of the foregoing remarks*, "I should have remained in perfect ignorance of all that was passing at Geneva, had I not occasionally conversed with persons who received frequent intelligence from friends in the army." Such excessive caution can hardly fail to excite a degree of jealousy in the public mind, as it must naturally be inferred, that the magistrates are conscious either of some internal defect in the constitution, or of some personal misconduct. Integrity never shrinks from investigation.

There existed another striking defect in the Helvetic constitution, which it is difficult to reconcile with the idea of freedom, the want of a criminal code. The Carlo-

* Meiners, ib. 379.

vingian

vingian code* (so called from the emperor Charles V.) the only one in use, partook too much of the unfeeling temper of it's author, to be enforced with that scrupulous correctness which ought to regulate the administration of justice. Hence the sentence was usually left to the discretion of the judges; and it's enforcement or it's remission equally gave room for the suspicion of undue influence, even when no such influence existed. If the nature of crimes, and their consequent punishment, be not ascertained with precision, it matters little by how many judges a criminal is tried, or from what class of society they are selected. Prejudice will occasionally mislead the most conscientious; the spirit of party will render men blind to the claims and services of a political rival; while private advantage may tempt the interested to sacrifice innocence at the shrine of ambition. The clearness of our criminal code constitute the Palladium of British freedom. Hence

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* Coxe's Travels, Lett. 8.

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it becomes the duty of all men intrepidly to resist every attempt which may be made by an arbitrary judge, to arrogate to himself the interpretation of the law. And never did the tribunals of England appear more venerable in the eyes of the world, than when all the influence of an all-but-omnipotent minister was exerted in vain to procure the conviction of a simple mechanic.

In none of the cantons, except in that of Berne, was the use of torture abolished, though it was never employed except in cases of an extraordinary character. Let it not be supposed, however, that criminal prosecutions were conducted in Switzerland, either with rigour or with partiality. But it is not sufficient that the magistrates are just. A wise legislature will not leave them the possibility of acting with injustice.

Literature was far from flourishing at Berne, nor did it seem the aim of the government to give it encouragement. That city, has however, occasionally produced men

men of eminence in the literary world, and among others, the celebrated Haller*. CHAP. XXXV.

In the canton of Schweitz, the constitution was purely democratical, the sovereign authority residing wholly in the people. From the different communities, the Council of Regency, consisting of sixty members, was annually elected, in a general assembly, composed of every male inhabitant, who had attained the age of sixteen. Out of this council, the exclusive administrator of the executive power, was taken

* The government of Zuric, more judicious in this respect, paid great attention to the education of youth, and could boast of many distinguished names in different branches of science. I shall content myself with mentioning those of Conrad Gessner, to whom natural history is indebted for various discoveries; of his amiable descendent the poet, who in a less polished language almost rivalled Theocritus, of Bodmer, who did so much to purify the German taste; and, lastly, of my ingenious and eccentric friend Lavater, who was one of the most interesting characters I ever knew. Should the reader be desirous of farther information upon this subject, he will find it in the Travels of Mr. Coxe. Lett. 9.

The want of proper establishments for the education of youth has been severely censured by professor Meiners, who has treated the subject with his accustomed liberality.

the

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the chief magistrate, called the Landamman, as well as all others of an inferior order.

Although every man, by possessing a vote at the annual election, enjoyed his individual share of sovereignty, the management of affairs was, in reality circumscribed within a much smaller circle. Impressed with the conviction of their own incapacity, the peasants submitted to the direction of their spiritual guides, through whose agency a few wealthy families moved the secret springs, which gave life and activity to the whole machine.

The people, indeed, kept a watchful eye over the conduct of their governors, never allowing the smallest error to pass uncensured. Yet, notwithstanding this extreme jealousy, certain races continued to fill the highest offices for several centuries. This privilege, however, will cease to surprise us, when we learn that, that far from being attended with emolument, it was not only productive of considerable expense, but required a sacrifice of time and attention, which the opulent only could afford. Opulence

lence likewise, when once attained, as in the instance of the Redings and Hottingers, was less likely to decline, as being sheltered in the retirement of the Alpine vallies, from the temptations encountered in great and commercial cities. CHAP. XXXV.

Such was the simplicity of manners in the democratical cantons, that it was never found necessary to curb extravagance by sumptuary laws. Their diet was almost Pythagorean, and to judge from the athletic forms of the natives, milk and vegetables abundantly suffice to generate strength and agility. On the return of spring the peasant conducted his cattle to the mountains, where they fed till winter approached. His boy as he grew up, followed his steps with implicit veneration; bounding his ideas of happiness by the modest hope of passing an undisturbed life in his native hamlet, and descending with unblemished reputation into his father's grave.

The office of bailiff over the dependent country was here disposed off to the highest bidder. That power, obtained by venality, should be exercised with integrity, would

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would be requiring more from the character of man, that his inherent frailties can be expected to attain. The purchaser would naturally indemnify himself for his purchase money, and having once tasted the sweets of office, would hardly content himself with mere reimbursement, without deigning to consult the feelings of those, from whose necessities he must extort the retribution.

The canton of Schweitz was the only country in Europe, whose inhabitants derived an annual income from the state. It was an invariable rule to divide among the people the subsidies paid by France. This originally amounted to two florins for every male inhabitant; but with the increase of the population the dividend would of course, have proportionably diminished, had not the deficiency been supplied out of the public treasury. This fallacious system answered the purpose for which it was intended, by preventing murmurs and discontent.

The internal situation of the little cantons was, in every respect, different from that

that of Berne; as they had little commerce, and scarcely any manufactures. If any nation in modern Europe could be said to possess a patriarchal government, here alone it was to be found. A general assembly was held every year in the open air in the vicinity of Stanz, not far from the spot, where the ancient founders of Helvetic liberty decided the fall of despotism. There, in the presence of their fellow-citizens, the magistrates rendered an account of the political situation of the republic; balanced the receipts and payments, and explained the necessity (whenever it existed) of providing additional funds for the current expenses of the year. The proposal was approved or rejected, as it suited the inclinations of men, alike indifferent to the frowns or the smiles of their superiors. If any change had taken place in their foreign relations, the treaty was submitted to their inspection, nor was it regarded as valid, till it had received the sanction of the public voice. CHAP. XXXV.

Although, with respect to it's internal regulations, every canton was independent,

circumstances

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circumstances occasionally arose which interested Switzerland as a federative republic; and these were agitated in a diet, which met at Frauenfeld, a small town in the Thurgau. The session was annual, and usually continued for a month; the deputies however might be summoned at any time, if business of importance required their meeting. In ordinary cases, the representative of Zuric took the chair; but, if the diet met in any other canton, the deputy of that canton presided as a matter of course. This assembly not only decided on peace and war, but determined all disputes which occasionally arose between the different members of the confederacy.

From this hasty outline we may fairly infer, that few nations have enjoyed a larger portion of domestic felicity, than the Swiss. Yet with all these advantages, it must be confessed, that they wanted union, the most essential prop of a federative state. This defect was inherent in the original constitution. From the very nature of the association, it was hardly possible for the different republics to be cemented

by one common tie, into an uniform, compact, and equal commonwealth. Connected solely by the reciprocal engagement of assisting each other, in the event of an attack, and of submitting their private differences to an impartial award, they were utter strangers to that enlightened policy, which should have taught them to yield to a temporary sacrifice, when necessary for the general weal. CHAP. XXXV.

Such too was the indifference, with which these boasted patriots had long regarded the interests of their country, that many years had elapsed, since the ancient pact was renewed*, and hence it began to be treated by the rising generation with the same contemptuous neglect, with which they were taught by the philosopher's of France to regard all the higher duties of life.

It would have been fortunate for Helvetia if her constitution had provided some paramount magistrate, who in moments of danger might have assumed a dictatorial

* Mallet, IV. 68.

power

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power over every branch of the confederacy, and have had the finances and the army at his entire disposal. The office might have terminated with the exigency for which it was created; and the person who filled it, might have been subjected to the most vigorous responsibility.

It may be urged, that no national fund existed, to which the country could resort. This was a second error, and ought to have been supplied by an annual contribution from every canton.

The military establishment of Switzerland had gradually declined from those brilliant days, when her halbert decided the fate of Italy. While the art of war was cultivated and improved by the other nations of Europe, it had been exchanged by the descendents of Tell for the tranquil occupations of commerce and agriculture. Every man was indeed still a soldier, and from the age of sixteen to that of sixty was trained to arms; but, in many districts, they were exercised only once a month, and that during the summer months alone.

No country in Europe possessed more natural

natural means of defence than Switzerland; but to these she trusted with a degree of confidence almost approaching to temerity. Scarcely a fortification existed, capable of holding in check an invading army, till the militia had time to assemble; nor was there any force to oppose to an enemy, except what consisted of the contingents furnished (according to an ancient convention) by the different cantons, and amounting only to thirteen thousand four hundred men, with sixteen pieces of artillery*. But so negligently

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* The contingents were thus divided:

Zuric	1,400
Berne	2,000
Lucerne	1,200
Uri	400
Schweitz	600
Unterwalden	400
Zug	400
Glarus	400
Bâle	400
Fribourg	800
Soleure	400
Shaffhausen	400
Appenzel	600
	9,600

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negligently was this engagement worded, that no care had been taken either to specify the quality of the troops, or to provide them with a head. Hence every canton felt itself at perfect liberty to prescribe instructions to it's own soldiers, which frequently militated against the general arrangement, and destroyed the harmony indispensible to the success of all military enterprises. Before any expedition could be undertaken, or any suggestion carried into effect, it was necessary to discuss the expediency of the measure in a council of war, composed of deputies from the different states. This dilatory system not only precluded the possibility of striking a decisive blow, but essentially embarrassed all the operations of the war; as it frequently happened that the representatives consulted the apparent interests of their respective

Abbey of St. Gal . .	1,000
Town of St. Gal . .	200
Bienne . . .	200
Subject provinces . .	2,400
	13,400

govern-

governments, without considering that they were inseparably connected with the general safety. CHAP. XXXV.

The want of engineers was also severely felt in an age when cannon so importantly influence the fate of battles. For as the Swiss were never employed by foreign powers in their corps of artillery, they were total strangers to that branch of tactics.

They were also extremely deficient in cavalry. The whole of the Helvetic horse did not exceed two thousand men; and even those were for the most part badly mounted, ill-accoutred, and entirely unacquainted with modern evolutions.

An anonymous writer*, himself apparently an actor in the scenes which he describes with patriotic anguish, attributes the recent misfortunes of his country to the shameful neglect of military discipline. "The greater part of the cavalry," he says, 1567. "consisted of farmers, butchers, and inn-"keepers, who were mounted on horses

* Die Ehemahlige und Gegenwartige Schweitz, in rücksicht ihrer politischen, und militarischen lage, gegen das übrige Europa. Berne and Zurick, 1802.

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" usually employed in the labours of agri-
" culture, and wholly unaccustomed to the
" report of a pistol. Many of them were
" intoxicated at the very time when their
" services were required, and when sent
" with orders of the utmost consequence,
" wasted the important moments in ta-
" verns by the way."

The most effective part of the army was that, which consisted of the light troops. The chasseurs, indeed, had been raised only a short time previous to the revolution, and were consequently strangers to active service; but they amply compensated for every defect by activity, courage, and perseverance. The same thing may be said of the riflemen. For though no people in Europe could hit a target with greater certainty, yet this accomplishment was of little avail, when unattended by the art of forming and manœuvring with celerity; of advancing and retreating without confusion, and the various other accompaniments of desultory warfare.

It is true, that in the spring and autumn in most of the cantons, a general muster took

took place. But the troops were assembled in small divisions, commanded by inexperienced officers, and allowed to perform their exercises in the most slovenly manner. It was customary also, in the great cantons, to embody the militia every tenth year. This precaution, however, was attended with little benefit to the common cause; because, every canton was at liberty to introduce arbitrary changes into it's military regulations. Hence the evolutions, the uniforms of the soldiers, and the calibre of the muskets, varied in the different cantons.

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Professor Meiners, in his travels through Switzerland in 1782, was so forcibly struck with the defects of the military system, that he almost predicted the calamities which have ensued. "The march of the "soldiers," says that accurate writer, "was "neither easy, nor uniform; and every "manœuvre was executed with unpardon- "able negligence. In the villages, where "they halted, no precaution was omitted "to provide convenient quarters; yet, if "the men were dissatisfied with their ac-

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" commodations, without condescending " to consult their commander, they re- " moved immediately to another house. " I was assured," continues he, " that this " relaxation of discipline proceeded en- " tirely from the timidity of the govern- " ment; who in order to reconcile the peo- " ple to the toils and privations of a mili- " tary life, prohibited all rigorous punish- " ments, lest they should disgust a nation " impatient of control*."

Such an expedient could hardly be resorted to, without manifest detriment to the service. The duties of a soldier are totally incompatible with personal liberty. From the moment in which he enters the ranks, he renounces every claim to free agency, nor can he attempt to recover it without being guilty of mutiny. An army, without proper subordination, is like artillery in the hands of a savage, formidable alike to friends and to foes.

These considerations are so closely connected with the fall of Helvetia, tha I

* Briefe, I. 301

shall

shall pursue them somewhat farther, by analysing the component parts of a regiment. The colonel was invariably either a superannuated officer, retired on a pension from foreign service, or an aged senator, whose military knowledge had been acquired in the lucrative post of bailiff. The lieutenant-colonel was usually a man of fortune, who had hardly studied any science except that of agriculture or of municipal law. An experienced soldier was, if possible, selected for the important duties of major. The captains consisted of young patricians, or persons of eminence in trade; while the inferior officers, though few of them were educated to the profession of arms, were generally taken from the lower classes. Fortunate indeed might a captain esteem himself, if he found in his company a single subaltern, who had a practical knowledge of war.

As the different companies were scarcely ever embodied, the soldiers were not only strangers to each other, but many of them were ignorant of their colonel's name. This (according to the anonymous writer, whom

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I lately quoted) actually happened in the revolutionary war, as many of the prisoners, when captured by the French, were unable to state by whom their regiment was commanded. From troops, devoid of confidence in the talents of their leader, and feeling only intrepid fortitude and an eager passion for revenge, little good could be expected. Through an army so imperfectly constituted, how easily might the perfidy of their malignant foe diffuse the poison of suspicion.

These were defects, which could hardly fail to strike the most casual observer. Yet so blind were the Swiss to their real interests, that every attempt to introduce a more rational system was highly unpopular. Looking back with an eye of pride to their Burgundian and Italian victories, they triumphantly inquired, what a people could fear, who had purchased glory by so many conquests. This fatal prejudice prevailed most in the democratical cantons, where strong traces of the ancient character were still discernible. Various causes had combined to preserve the inhabitants of the mountainous districts from those contagious vices,

vices, which pervade the regions of commerce. But to none were they more indebted, than to that inconquerable love of independence, which rendered them averse from foreign service. Addicted to agriculture, and lulled by the repose of a pastoral life, they felt little inclination to any exchange. CHAP. XXXV.

So much has been said, respecting the theoretical government of the different cantons, that I shall content myself with pointing out a few defects, which conduced most essentially to hasten their fall, as particularly militating against the opinions and the habits of the present age. The privileges of the aristocracy, in some of the cantons, afforded abundant scope for popular declamation. The gradual augmentation of national wealth had introduced among the middle classes, a spirit of independence, which revolted at the distinctions of rank. Prudence, perhaps, might have prevented the explosion by partial concessions; but it could hardly be expected, that genius should always bow,

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bow, in submissive silence, to the prerogatives of birth.

These observations are more particularly applicable to the government of Berne. A different constitution gave rise to abuses of a different species. At Zuric, Bâle, and Shaffhausen, where the people enjoyed a greater share of power, the principles upon which they acted were equally erroneous. Between the inhabitants of the capitals, and those of the country, distinctions were created or cherished, not less injurious to the interests, than humiliating to the pride of the latter. Every branch of trade was subject to a monopoly, and chartered companies were erected to the utter exclusion of all competition. In a word, every thing was done, which the illiberal spirit of a mercantile administration could devise, under the erroneous idea of deriving private emolument from the general distress*. It is worthy of remark, that

* Pericles was not playing the *Ministre boutiquier*, when he said, Εγω γαρ ηγημαι πολιν πλεω ξυμπασαν ωφεθεισαν ωφελειν τες ιδιωτας, η καθ' ἑκαστον των πολιτων ευπραγουσαν, αθροαν δε σφαλλομενην.

that this mistaken policy was carried farthest in those cantons, which approached the nearest to a democracy. The privileges, of which the citizens had despoiled the nobility, were far from being extinguished by passing into plebeian hands. So fallacious it is to suppose, that power is exercised with moderation, when placed at the disposal of the people.

The simplicity of Helvetic manners has been so frequently contrasted with the luxurious enjoyments of wealthier states, that to a person deriving his knowledge of Switzerland solely from books, she would appear almost wholly to have escaped the contagion of luxury and vice. With reference however to the aristocratical cantons, no opinion is less supported by fact. A spirit of anticipation, engendered by the characteristic selfishness of the present age, induced the higher orders to sink their fortunes in life-annuities on the precarious security of France. Geneva

σφαλλομενην. Καλως μεν γαρ φερομενος ανηρ το καθ' εαυτον, διαφθειρομενης της παλιδος, ηδεν ησσον ξυναπολυται· κακοτυχων δε εν ευτυχουσῃ πολλῳ μαλλον διασωζεται, κ. τ. λ (THUCYD. μ. ξ.)

alone

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alone is supposed to have received from that country an annual income of nearly a million sterling.

It is not by drawing a comparison between Berne and London, that we arrive at the truth. The inhabitants of a great commercial city are entitled, by their rank and fortune, to a stile of magnificence, which would swallow up the revenues of an Alpine republic. What in one country would pass for frantic extravagance, may be perfectly consistent with rational economy in the other*. Let us divest our minds of local prejudices, and examine the question with an unbiassed judgment, before we suffer our imagination to create a phantom, which we venerate as the aggregate of every human virtue.

Among various causes, which tended to facilitate the designs of the French, none appears to have operated with greater effect than the disaffection of the inhabitants of the Pais de Vaud. The behaviour

* *Atticus, eximiè si cænat, lautus habetur;*
Si Rutilus, demens. (Juv. xi. 1.)

of

of the Bernese government toward that rich and populous province, was founded, as Haller demonstrated beyond the possibility of contradiction, upon the most selfish and erroneous policy. Aware of the fatal consequences which must one day ensue, that enlightened patriot exhorted his countrymen to adopt a more liberal system; and as the patrician families were gradually extinguished, to replace them by a judicious selection from among the nobility of the Pais de Vaud, and the other dependent districts. This plan would have attached the subject to the sovereign state by the indissoluble ties of affection and gratitude. But it was rejected from motives, which too frequently operate in the decision of great political questions. Some concessions were requisite on the part of a few powerful families; and those families refused to make them, though the safety of the community depended upon the decision.

By this determination many of the most respectable inhabitants of the Pais de Vaud, men of easy fortunes, unquestioned probity,

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But it is time to pause. To attempt a description of the tremendous scenes, which accompanied the fall of Switzerland, would lead to discussions, which cannot be undertaken at the present moment with any rational hope of success†.

Every

* Personal observation enables me to speak with the greatest confidence. A gentleman of Lausanne, with whom I lived upon terms of the most friendly intimacy, and for whom I feel the sincerest respect, took a leading part against the government of Berne, and I will venture to affirm, that he was actuated solely by the purest motives. Indifferent alike to interest and ambition, he was desirous of rescuing his degraded country from a state of humiliation and dependence; and although the event in some respects has proved contrary to his wishes, he has the satisfaction of finding that the canton of Vaud upon the whole has gained by the change.

† By the Acte de Mediation, as the new constitution is called, settled in 1801, the federative government, which had

Every passion which agitates the human heart, is too deeply interested in the contest, for the most temperate mind to command it's moderation. The French revolution, impartially examined under all it's bearings, is perhaps the most stupendous, and certainly to the present generation the most awful event that has ever been accomplished by the crimes, the follies, or the courage of man. To investigate a subject, so complicated in it's means, and so comprehensive in it's results, belongs to the future historian. Should it be his painful duty to commemorate the farther victories of despotism, may providence in mercy so deaden his feelings, that he may execute the degrading task with sensations far different from mine. But if the fall of tyranny be his theme, may he possess sensibility and genius to do it ample justice, and taste the pure delight, excited

had been abandoned in the delirium of democratic fanaticism, has been resumed, and the Helvetic republic is divided into nineteen cantons: Those of Thurgau, Argau, Vaud, Tesin, St. Gall, and the Grisons being added to the original number.

in

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in every generous bosom by the spectacle of returning justice, and the virtuous triumphs of insulted freedom!

To us the events of the last twenty years appear like a magical illusion, in which ghosts and demons pass in quick succession before the eyes, leaving no impressions on the troubled mind but those of amazement, of horror, and of despair.

END OF VOLUME FOUR.

J. G. Barnard, Printer, Skinner-Street, London.